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ABSTRACT

Research on black political behavior in the 1976 congressional and presidential elections is presented. The purpose of the report is to present facts and figures which describe the impact of the black vote in the election of Jimmy Carter and of numerous congressional and gubernatorial candidates. Twenty three states were involved in an examination of the voting behavior of approximately 23% of the estimated total registered black voters. Election results were gathered directly from Boards of Election. Earlier research had identified the most heavily black congressional districts, counties, and municipalities. Major findings include: approximately 64% of the registered black voters voted; black voter turnout was higher in the North and West than in the South; Carter received 90% of all black votes. In 13 of the states monitored, black votes for Carter exceeded his margin of victory. The implications of the findings are that black voters can have a significant impact on an election. Tables summarize the findings. (Author/JK)

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The Black Vote: Election '76

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"The First Vote" drawn by A. R. Waud, appeared on the front cover of *Harper's Weekly*, Saturday, Nov. 16, 1867.

Depicts first black voting (1867) under newly-passed Congressional Reconstruction Act of 1867.

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Source: *Harper's Weekly*, June 9, 1867.

After the Civil War, Pres. Andrew Johnson followed Lincoln's Conciliatory plan of Reconstruction (1863) which provided for readmission of a seceded state & recognition of its government if 1/10 of the voters of 1860 agreed to take an oath of allegiance & were granted pardons. Accordingly, defeated slavery statesmen were elected to office throughout the South. They took control of the early Reconstruction period in 1865, passed "Black Codes" that severely limited rights of former slaves, & refused to ratify the 14th Amendment guaranteeing Negro citizenship.

The Radical Republican Congress, however, refused to accept these provisional gov'ts. In 1867 Congress passed the Reconstruction Act dividing the South into 5 military districts governed by Union Army generals. Under this plan, ex-Confederates were excluded from voting. Power was taken away from ex-Confederate white southern governments & given to newly-elected coalition gov'ts. of blacks and whites. This election is indeed significant as the first in which black males voted under the Reconstruction Act.

GNIFICANT ELECTION SCENE AT WASHINGTON, JUNE 3, 1867.—[SKETCHED BY A. W. McCALLUM

Preface

"The Election: Jimmy's Debt to Blacks . . ." read the *Time* magazine headline following the November 2, 1976, election. The article opened with a quote from John Lewis, executive director of the Voter Education Project:

"I wish—Lord, how I wish—Martin (Luther King) were alive today. He would be very, very happy. Through it all, the lunch-counter sit-ins, the bus strike, the marches and everything, the bottom line was voting."

For the 39th President of the United States, the bottom line was black votes.

What would have made Dr. King "very, very happy" was the unprecedented impact the black vote had on the presidential election as well as on numerous congressional and gubernatorial races. This impact is described in detail in this report conducted by the Joint Center for Political Studies (JCPS).

While the effect of the black vote was making news, little was being said about how the black vote had defied the prognosticators. As late as a few weeks before the election, *Time*, other publications, and a host of national political observers labeled American voters, and black voters in particular, as apathetic and predicted an unprecedentedly low turnout. These foreboding projections were reinforced by the U. S. Bureau of the Census which reported a steady decline in black voter participation during the previous eight years—lower in 1972 than in 1968 and lower still in the 1974 congressional elections--and by a JCPS survey which showed that black voter turnout in the 1976 presidential primaries also had been extremely low.

The predictions, however, proved to be overstated. In fact, 64.1 percent of all registered black voters went to the polls. While this represented less than 50 percent of all blacks of voting age, those who did vote had an unprecedented and strategic impact on the presidential election. Jimmy Carter got 90 percent of their votes—many of them in key states with large numbers of electoral votes—and won the presidency.

None of this should have come as a surprise to anyone watching the increased political activity in the black community. As early as May 1976, a group of black leaders, representing major national civic, religious, fraternal, labor, and civil rights organizations, met in Washington to devise a strategy to combat voter apathy. They created the nonpartisan National Coalition on Black Voter Participation. They also attacked the lack of responsiveness by presidential candidates during the primary campaigns to issues of great concern to blacks, other minorities and the poor—unemployment, housing, education, and welfare, to name a few.

At the same time, black voters in both parties helped former Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter and President Gerald Ford build early delegate majorities in the primaries. In Boston, black Democrats gave Carter 42 percent of their votes, and black Republicans gave Ford 62 percent. In Florida, Carter polled 70 percent of black Democratic votes and Ford got 65 percent of black Republican votes. In Chicago, Carter got 48 percent while Ford received 78 percent of the GOP black vote.

Other signs of increased black interest in the political process began to emerge. Black Democrats met in Charlotte, N.C., to plan strategy for their national political convention in New York City, and the National Black Republican Council caucused in Kansas City, just prior to the opening of the Republican National Convention.

Blacks, comprising 11 percent of the delegates to the Democratic National Convention, had a significant impact on the party platform and played an active role in the nomination of Jimmy Carter. Black delegates accounted for only 3 percent of GOP delegates, but they constituted a potential balance of power in the close race between Ford and Reagan. Nevertheless, their influence at the Republican convention was minimal.

As the summer progressed, increasing emphasis was placed on mobilizing the black vote by a number of different groups and organizations, including labor unions, civil rights groups and the Atlanta-based Voter Education Project. Among the most active groups was the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation which had selected 36 cities as targets for its nationwide voter education campaigns. By mid-October, the Coalition estimated that black voter registration in these areas had increased by at least 12 percent.

Meanwhile, the media reported that the Democratic National Committee was wooing the black vote, and the Republicans were deliberately ignoring it.

Although black voter apathy was discussed until almost election eve, some political commentators and

Selma Voting Rights
March, Selma, Alabama.
1965. "Bloody Sunday."
Photo by Black Star

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the media began to refer to the black vote as a "sleeping giant." One national poll indicated that if black voters were not counted, Ford and Carter would be running neck and neck, but when blacks were included in the survey Carter would win by at least five percentage points.

These are some of the factors which provide the backdrop for the Joint Center's study of black voter participation during the 1976 elections. In examining the black vote, the Joint Center is fulfilling one of its basic missions—to encourage participation at every level of the political process and to monitor that participation. We believe that politics is indeed the new cutting edge of the civil rights movement, and that blacks must bring to it the same enthusiasm, determination and conviction that guided their activities in the past.

The Black Vote: Election '76 is the result of a major research effort by the Joint Center. Under the direction of Jeanne Fox, Deputy Director of Research and chief of the data analysis unit, dozens of individuals were involved in the collection, analysis and preparation of the data included in this volume. Special appreciation goes to Maybelle Bennett, Carol Jaka, Patricia Lisehora, and Yvonne Wooten of the data research unit, and to Elvira Bright, Gloria Cousar, Donna Duncan, Barbara La Marr, Ellen Scudder and Dolores Wainwright, who pitched in whenever and wherever needed.

We are similarly indebted to Carroll Harvey, Brenda Neal and Kathleen Vander Horst who found time to work on this project.

Beyond the Joint Center, students, academicians, journalists and other friends of the organization spent election night and, in many cases, the days that followed, monitoring and reporting election returns. We are most grateful for their contribution to this project.

On behalf of the Board of Governors of the Joint Center, I also express appreciation to the McDonald's Corporation for helping to make this publication possible.

Eddie N. Williams
President
Joint Center for Political Studies

Currier & Ives lithograph, 1872, of early Black elected officials to Congress.

Introduction

The Black Vote: Election '76 is the culmination of the Joint Center's research on black political behavior in the 1976 congressional and presidential elections. The groundwork was laid early in 1974 when 80 congressional districts were identified in which the black population was 20 percent or more of the total population.

Some months later the Joint Center conducted another research project in which the 1974 congressional races were analyzed. Forty-eight districts were identified where the number of blacks of voting age exceeded the successful candidate's winning margin. Although most of the 48 districts had proportionately small black populations, it was clear that the black vote was important to the success of winning candidates.

A combination of these two sets of congressional district data provided the Joint Center with a research base of approximately 120 districts in which the black vote could be assumed to have an impact.

More recently, the Joint Center initiated a small-scale examination of the black vote during the 1976 presidential primaries and monitored black participation in the two major political conventions.

With these and some other research projects as a base, and encouraged by the growing interest of scholars, political commentators, the media, and elected officials in the characteristics of the black vote, the Joint Center decided to undertake a detailed analysis of black voter behavior in the 1976 presidential, congressional and gubernatorial elections. The methods employed are detailed in section 3 of this report. However, it is worth noting here that black voter participation was monitored in 23 of the 50 states; that the total sample included 1,050 precincts, wards, and other types of political units; that the population of each of these units was at least 80 percent, but usually 90 percent black; and that the actual voting behavior of 1.4 million blacks—23 percent of all who were registered—was examined.

The size of this data base and the fact that the Joint Center analyzed actual votes cast rather than employing more usual "sampling" techniques have convinced us—and others—that the Joint Center's statistics and analyses are the most reliable information available. Furthermore, what distinguishes the sample used by JCPS from all other samples of which we are aware, is the fact that the election units we surveyed were at least 80 percent black, whereas most other analysts used sample areas which contained up to 49 percent non-black populations.

It is the purpose of this volume to present facts and figures which describe the impact of the black vote in the election of Jimmy Carter and of numerous congressional and gubernatorial candidates. We believe that this information will contribute to a better understanding of the reality and the potential of black political participation.

Jeanne Fox
Deputy Director of Research
Joint Center for Political Studies

TABLE I: BLACK VOTER PARTICIPATION

State, Number of Cities Sampled	Number and Percentage of Vote			Total Number of Votes Cast	Total Number of Registered Voters	Turnout*	Number of Delegate Votes at Stake
	Carter	Ford	Third Party				
ALABAMA (4)	28,648 (85.4)	3,145 (11.4)	1,021 (2.3)	43,216	66,436	65.1	18
ARKANSAS (2)	3,981 (80.3)	749 (19.7)		4,731	7,726	59.8	10
CALIFORNIA (4)	13,488 (82.2)	840 (5.0)	288 (2.0)	14,832	21,911	67.2	45
FLORIDA (4)	69,717 (84.9)	3,748 (4.2)	596 (0.8)	85,882	95,817	67.2	51
GEORGIA (4)	28,922 (86.3)	2,149 (3.7)		58,660	67,232	68.3	64
ILLINOIS (4)	149,777 (92.2)	11,837 (7.4)	636 (0.3)	166,000	241,781	68.6	26
INDIANA (4)	28,264 (88.4)	*2,115 (6.6)	*371 (1.0)	37,814	57,100	66.2	33
KENTUCKY (4)	8,007 (80.0)	1,898 (16.1)	387 (3.8)	10,000	16,389	64.5	41
LOUISIANA (4)	48,888 (93.0)	2,888 (4.1)	1,188 (2.3)	49,776	74,160	67.2	55
MARYLAND (1)	88,300 (91.5)	5,115 (5.3)		83,415	108,881	55.6	60
MICHIGAN (4)	168,872 (97.5)	14,840 (8.2)	7,210 (4.0)	220,227	332,168	64.9	33
MISSISSIPPI (2)	2,745 (87.4)	1,882 (8.8)	315 (3.8)	11,155	21,182	52.9	16
MISSOURI (2)	28,800 (91.4)	2,884 (8.2)	234 (0.4)	33,848	48,785	72.6	32
NEW JERSEY (2)	16,[illegible] (87.4)	2,447 (11.7)	*287 (1.0)	20,782	32,881	63.2	45
NEW YORK (2)	31,000 (89.5)	3,588 (9.4)	*888 (1.0)	38,231	58,838	65.0	35
SOUTH CAROLINA (2)	31,888 (92.8)	1,884 (3.8)	81 (0.2)	33,848	41,881	80.8	28
OHIO (4)	78,577 (88.8)	7,277 (7.4)	12,382 (12.8)	88,226	138,814	76.2	108
PENNSYLVANIA (4)	156,878 (87.2)	28,888 (11.3)	2,714 (1.5)	188,881	288,211	78.3	35
SOUTH CAROLINA (1)	16,888 (88.4)	1,781 (8.7)	*187 (0.9)	20,888	31,824	64.8	24
TENNESSEE (2)	88,718 (88.2)	3,782 (8.3)	*488 (0.8)	34,888	88,811	65.5	58
TEXAS (2)	84,381 (88.8)	3,788 (3.8)	114 (0.2)	88,183	118,548	68.2	81
VIRGINIA (4)	41,882 (88.4)	2,888 (8.2)	*1,518 (3.3)	48,488	81,387	59.7	48
WISCONSIN (1)	28,381 (88.4)	4,871 (4.8)	384 (1.8)	31,736	38,788	84.3	35
TOTAL (28)	1,217,884 (88.8)	102,388 (7.8)	30,841 (2.3)	1,388,873	2,118.7	64.1	1,088
South (14)	488,848 (82.4)	32,487 (8.4)	5,774 (1.1)	588,315	885,982	61.5	888
Non-South (14)	748,888 (88.8)	72,711 (8.8)	24,887 (2.8)	848,888	1,284.8	66.8	488

*Percentage of Black Registrants Who Voted.

TABLE II: BLACK VOTER PARTICIPATION

1976 Presidential Election
Estimates of Statewide Black Voter Participation

State, Number of Cities Sampled	1976 Black Voting Age Population*	Estimated Black Registration	Black Voter Turnout*	Estimated Total Black Vote	Percentage for Carter	Estimated Number of Black Votes for Carter	Winning Margin	Electoral Votes
Alabama (4)	550,000	319,200	68.1	211,240	88.4	182,517	146,651	*9
Arkansas (2)	217,000	122,389	69.8	78,412	94.3	68,739	239,196	6
Florida (4)	671,000	489,666	67.2	275,666	94.8	261,797	166,667	*17
Georgia (4)	650,000	454,500	69.2	272,674	96.8	262,687	462,587	12
Kentucky (1)	165,000	93,240	64.5	48,161	88.8	39,345	85,230	9
Louisiana (7)	666,000	438,667	67.2	282,788	93.6	264,615	77,366	*10
Maryland (1)	665,000	284,571	56.5	160,788	91.5	146,784	86,888	*10
Mississippi (2)	471,000	288,644	52.3	148,588	97.4	132,018	11,537	*7
Missouri (2)	211,000	148,389	72.5	137,504	91.4	125,670	97,540	*12
New York (3)	1,687,000	887,788	58.8	881,581	88.5	842,015	275,970	*41
North Carolina (1)	782,000	488,888	58.6	288,678	88.8	284,782	184,559	*13
Ohio (4)	884,000	484,578	76.2	324,681	88.8	343,272	7,888	*25
Pennsylvania (4)	888,000	418,888	76.3	284,551	97.2	268,848	128,466	*27
South Carolina (1)	804,000	*284,888	64.8	184,888	88.4	166,937	101,402	9
Tennessee (2)	488,000	228,112	65.5	158,723	88.2	138,867	108,883	10
Texas (2)	888,000	888,548	68.2	287,778	88.8	288,282	188,246	*26
Wisconsin (1)	88,888	81,388	84.5	48,741	88.4	48,884	34,811	*11
STATES WON BY FORD								
California (4)	1,878,888	882,111	67.2	441,578	89.2	487,135 Ford: 25,812	Ford: 127,387	45
Illinois (2)	883,888	888,377	65.8	381,888	92.3	352,488 Ford: 28,888	Ford: 101,117	26
Indiana (2)	242,888	147,388	68.2	87,884	88.4	81,128 Ford: 8,484	Ford: 168,734	18
Michigan (2)	788,888	481,781	54.9	287,848	87.8	288,128 Ford: 18,438	Ford: 188,884	21
New Jersey (2)	888,888	887,888	68.2	813,881	87.8	188,883 Ford: 25,882	Ford: 87,188	17
Virginia (2)	888,888	287,128	58.7	247,828	88.4	223,857 Ford: 15,884	Ford: 23,888	12
U.S. Total (Extrapolation)	15,388,888	8,884,782	64.1	5,784,872	88.8	5,388,388	1,743,888	

*Includes state in which the estimated number of black votes is greater than Carter's margin of victory.
**Actual registration.
*Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, Projections of the Population of Voting Age for States: November 1976, Current Population Reports: Population Estimates and Projections, Series P-25, No. 626, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., May 1976.
*Percentage of Black Registrants Who Voted.

Summary of Findings

This final report on the November election indicates that given the size, concentration, and strategic location of the black electorate, black voters can have a significant impact. Among major findings are the following:

☐ Of the estimated 9,024,800 black voters registered to vote on November 2, 1976, approximately 64.1 percent or 5,784,872 actually voted. Of the total of 15,398,000 blacks eligible to vote by age, approximately 38 percent voted. The Joint Center figures, which are lower [1] than those published by the U. S. Bureau of the Census,[2] are based on actual election results from sample areas. (See Table I.)

☐ On the whole, black voter turnout for the presidential election was higher in the North and West than in the South. In sample precincts in 26 cities in the North and West, 65.9 percent of registered black voters went to the polls compared to 61.3 percent in sample precincts in 54 southern cities and counties.

☐ Carter was the overwhelming choice of black voters, garnering an estimated 5,206,400 votes or 90 percent of all black votes cast. (See Table II.) Support for Carter was strongest in the South, with 92.4 percent of black votes going to him. In the North and West, he polled 88.5 percent.

☐ In 13 of the states monitored by the Joint Center, black votes for Carter exceeded his margin of victory. These states accounted for 216 electoral votes. Carter won the presidency by 56 electoral votes.

Presidential Election

The Joint Center survey found that the black vote was crucial to Carter particularly in states he had to carry in order to win. The states where black votes made the difference for Carter were: Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Texas, and Wisconsin.

In some states, black votes for Carter were two or three times greater than his winning margin. This was the case in Louisiana, Mississippi, New York, and Ohio. The impact of the relatively monolithic black vote on the national popular vote margin was also apparent. The estimated number of black votes for Carter, 5.2 million, was more than three times his popular vote margin of 1.7 million.

Support among blacks for Carter was strongest in Texas where almost 97 percent of all blacks voted for him. In Kentucky and in Ohio, black support for Carter was weakest, with only 80 percent of voting blacks supporting him. Despite the relatively weak support for Carter in Ohio, black support there, as already noted, was several times larger than his Ohio winning margin.

The 80 percent support which Carter received in Kentucky and in Ohio may reflect the existence of relatively significant groups of black Republicans. Evidence of black support for Republicans, particularly in Ohio, is also available in the results of the Ohio congressional races in the Third and the Fifteenth Districts. In Ohio's Third, Republican Charles Whalen polled 49 percent of the black vote and in Ohio's Fifteenth, Republican Chalmers Wylie polled 25 percent of black votes.

President Ford polled 7.8 percent of the black vote in the Joint Center's sample areas. Black support for Ford was strongest in the North and the West where 8.6 percent of black voters chose the incumbent President. In the South, Ford polled 6.4 percent of all black votes.

Black support for Ford ranged from a high of 16.1 percent in Kentucky to a low of 3 percent in Texas. Despite Ford's relatively weak support from blacks, the black vote had a substantial impact in some states carried by Ford. For example in New Jersey, blacks cast an estimated 25,032 votes for Ford, approximately 46 percent of his winning margin of 54,190. In Virginia, where Ford's winning margin was 23,096 votes, blacks provided an estimated 65 percent of those votes.

Although collectively, third party candidates attracted a minimal 2.3 percent of the black votes, most of this went to independent candidate Eugene McCartny. Black voters in Ohio gave third-party candidates an unusual 12.6 percent of votes, and in Michigan third-party candidates polled 4 percent of black votes. Support for third-party candidates was strongest in the North and the West, 2.9 percent. In the South,

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[1] The U. S. Bureau of Census estimated the proportions of blacks who voted as 83.4 percent of those registered and 48.7 percent of those of voting age.

[2] U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, No. 304, "Voter Participation in November 1976," Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1976.

TABLE III: BLACK VOTER PARTICIPATION

1978 Gubernatorial Elections
Estimates of Statewide Black Voter Participation

LCCR Ratings[1]	State	Black Voting Age Population	Estimated Black Registration	Black Voter Turnout[2]	Estimated Total Black Vote	Winning Candidate	Percent for Winning Candidate	Estimated Black Vote for Winner	Winning Margin, Party
4/10	SOUTH: Florida	971,000	483,895 (actual)	46	184,457	Lawton Chiles	60	169,011	675,581 (D)
	Maryland	553,000	294,972	52	153,385	Paul S. Sarbanes	93	142,648	237,944 (D)+
3/10	Mississippi	471,000	285,644	51	82,350	John C. Stennis	100	82,350	unopposed (D)
	Tennessee	499,000	280,112	51	140,368	James R. Sasser	93	130,542	61,173 (D)†
6/10	Texas	985,000	555,540	45	249,993	Lloyd Bentsen	97	242,493	566,056 (D)+
5/10	Virginia	699,000	397,108	57	219,170	Harry F. Byrd Jr.	6	13,150	86,785 (Ind)
	Turnout in South			51					
	NON-SOUTH: California	1,979,000	857,111	35	361,124	S.I. Hayakawa	8	22,857	326,953 (R)
	Indiana	242,000	147,376	64	94,322	Richard G. Lugar	7	6,603	383,796 (R)
	Michigan	709,000	431,761	47	202,957	Donald Riegle Jr.	92	186,702	195,282 (D)+
	Missouri	311,000	190,399	60	120,791	John C. Danforth	15	19,318	275,526 (R)
10/10	New Jersey	553,000	337,665	57	192,657	Harrison Williams	59	109,538	641,425 (D)+
	New York	1,622,000	992,799	60	592,579	Daniel Moynihan	80	474,143	573,633 (D-L)+
	Ohio	954,000	494,376	39	236,582	Howard Metzenbaum	51	165,251	118,405 (D)†
	Pennsylvania	666,000	410,992	62	264,915	H. John Heinz III	19	51,285	264,849 (R)
7/10	Wisconsin	85,000	51,765	74	39,306	William Proxmire	90	36,391	873,706 (D)
	Turnout outside south			58					
	Turnout for senate votes			55					

[1]Ratings are based on a Leadership Conference on Civil Rights evaluation of voting on ten civil rights issues. A perfect score is 10/10.
[2]Percentage of Black Registrants Who Voted.
‡A dagger denotes a candidate whose winning margin was less than the estimated number of black votes received.
+A plus denotes a candidate whose black vote total was more than half the winning margin.
-A minus denotes a candidate whose black vote was more than one-fourth of the winning margin.

TABLE IV: BLACK VOTER PARTICIPATION

1978 Congressional Elections
Estimates of District-Wide Black Voter Participation

LCCR Ratings[1]	State and Congressional District	Black Voting Age Population	Estimated Black Registration	Est. Total Black Vote	Black Voter Turnout[2]	Winning Candidate	Percent for Winning Candidate	Estimated Black Vote for Winner	Winning Margin, Party
9/10	ALABAMA Dist. 2	81,877	46,179	47	21,704	William Dickinson	19	4,124	23,455 (R)
1/10	Dist. 3	84,831	47,845	44	21,052	Bill Nichols	98	20,631	‡‡ (D)
2/10	Dist. 6	86,635	48,980	73	35,950	John Buchanan	19	6,830	17,700 (R)
2/10	Dist. 7	102,583	57,857	60	35,450	Walter Flowers	100	35,450	** (D)
5/10	ARKANSAS Dist. 1	57,446	32,420	58	18,300	Bill Alexander	62	10,044	63,886 (D)
9/10	CALIFORNIA Dist. 6	31,706	19,395	62	10,970	Phillip Burton	94	9,466	59,989 (D)
10/10	Dist. 7	22,123	13,473	66	8,892	George Miller	98	8,536	103,776 (D)
10/10	Dist. 8	62,819	38,257	56	21,424	Ronald Dellums	97	20,781	50,164 (D)+
9/10	Dist. 31	67,399	41,898	56	23,979	Charles Wilson	100	23,979	** (D)
4/10	FLORIDA Dist. 7	34,683	19,581	57	11,159	Sam Gibbons	94	10,461	47,018 (D)
9/10	Dist. 13	45,096	28,436	44	11,192	William Lehman	98	10,744	75,839 (D)
10/10	Dist. 14	40,136	22,637	46	10,413	Claude Pepper	98	9,986	47,883 (D)
9/10	Dist. 15	26,335	14,853	47	6,981	Dante Fascell	94	6,562	68,462 (D)
3/10	GEORGIA Dist. 1	65,460	48,211	37	17,838	Ronald B. Ginn	100	17,838	** (D)
1/10	Dist. 2	90,401	50,986	51	26,003	Dawson Mathis	100	26,003	** (D)
2/10	Dist. 3	82,812	46,706	56	26,155	Jack Brinkley	93	24,847	79,469 (D)+
9/10	Dist. 5	134,410	76,167	61	46,902	Andrew Young	98	41,080	47,590 (D)+
	Dist. 8	78,908	44,505	45	20,027	Billy Lee Evans	86	17,223	50,005 (D)+
	Dist. 10	64,677	47,768	58	28,744	Doug Barnard	100	28,744	** (D)
9/10	ILLINOIS Dist. 1	299,199	157,859	64	101,094	Ralph Metcalfe	98	99,052	117,787 (D)+
10/10	Dist. 2	103,117	63,164	60	37,898	Morgan F. Murphy	92	34,886	109,332 (D)+
2/10	Dist. 5	81,705	49,756	57	28,380	John G. Fary	94	26,668	81,080 (D)+
10/10	Dist. 7	129,312	78,751	66	51,976	Cardiss Collins	98	49,897	68,213 (D)+
10/10	Dist. 23	37,835	22,980	57	13,084	Melvin Price	93	12,158	91,578 (D)
8/10	INDIANA Dist. 1	82,333	37,951	64	24,250	Adam Benjamin	95	23,050	72,366 (D)+
	Dist. 11	61,150	37,248	63	23,461	Andy Jacobs	92	21,584	40,376 (D)+
7/10	KENTUCKY Dist. 3	54,187	30,309	51	15,581	Romano L. Mazzoli	82	12,776	29,372 (D)+
	LOUISIANA Dist. 1	74,711	42,137	48	20,236	Richard Tonry	95	19,214	5,981 (D)†
8/10	Dist. 2	105,768	59,652	60	35,761	Corinne C. Boggs	98	35,433	76,991 (D)
1/10	Dist. 4	81,462	45,966	51	23,437	Joe D. Waggoner	100	23,437	** (D)
	Dist. 5	84,709	47,776	63	30,099	Jerry Huckaby	98	29,665	7,383 (D)†
8/10	Dist. 6	76,218	42,997	56	19,774	W. Henson Moore	9	1,780	45,094 (R)
3/10	Dist. 7	51,236	28,899	49	11,569	John B. Breaux	96	11,097	92,606 (D)
8/10	Dist. 8	88,354	49,832	50	24,916	Gillis W. Long	100	24,916	89,110 (D)+

third-party candidates polled 1.1 percent of black votes.

Levels of participation by registered black voters in the presidential election were varied. In the South, participation was lowest, ranging from a low of 48 percent in Texas to a high of 76 percent in Virginia. Outside of the South, turnout of black registered voters ranged from a low of 55 percent in Michigan to a high of 85 percent in Wisconsin. Fifty-one percent of all black persons of voting age and 58 percent of all black elected officials are in the South.

Senate Races

The Joint Center monitored 15 of the 33 elections for the United States Senate. Black voters in nine states supported contested winners with at least 80 percent of their votes. They were: Florida's Lawton Chiles, Maryland's Paul Sarbanes, Tennessee's James Sasser, Texas' Lloyd Bentsen, Michigan's Donald Riegle, New Jersey's Harrison Williams, New York's Daniel Moynihan, Ohio's Howard Metzenbaum, and Wisconsin's William Proxmire. (See Table III.)

In two of the most hotly contested races, black voters provided more votes than the margin of the winning candidates. In Tennessee, Democratic challenger James Sasser won 93 percent of all black votes in his race against incumbent William Brock and three independent candidates, including one black. Sasser won the election by 81,173 votes. Blacks provided him with an estimated 130,542 votes.

Blacks also helped Democratic challenger Howard Metzenbaum unseat Republican Senator Robert Taft, Jr., of Ohio. In a close race, blacks gave 81 percent or 193,251 votes to Metzenbaum, more votes than his winning margin of 118,405.

In Michigan, black votes comprised approximately 96 percent of Democrat Donald Riegle's 195,282 winning margin. Riegle defeated his fellow representative, Marvin Esch, in the race to succeed retiring Senator Philip Hart. In the campaign, Esch emphasized his anti-busing efforts in the House in spite of the fact that an earlier busing controversy had died when plans for busing between Detroit and its suburbs were not implemented.

In New York, controversial Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihar won 474,143 black votes, approximately 83 percent of his winning margin. Black votes helped Moynihan solidify his victory over incumbent James Buckley, who received 19 percent of the black vote.

Blacks also played a major role in the election of former Maryland Representative Paul Sarbanes, who defeated incumbent Republican Senator J. Glenn Beall, Jr. Blacks gave Sarbanes 93 percent of their votes, providing him with about 60 percent of his winning margin.

The rate of black voter participation in 15 senatorial races monitored by the Joint Center was 56 percent of those registered, lower than the 64.1 percent turnout for the presidential election. In the six Southern races, 51 percent of those registered turned out at the polls. The North and West showed a 58 percent turnout for nine senatorial races.

Congressional Races

In the 84 congressional elections monitored by the Joint Center, blacks provided the margin of victory for eight white candidates. They were:

Richard Tonry (D, La. 1st Cong. Dist.)

Jerry Huckaby (D, La. 5th Cong. Dist.)

Joseph LeFante (D, N.J. 14th Cong. Dist.)

Thomas Luken (D, Ohio 2nd Cong. Dist.)

Kenneth Holland (D, S.C. 5th Cong. Dist.)

John Jenrette, Jr. (D, S.C. 6th Cong. Dist.)

Jim Mattox (D, Texas 5th Cong. Dist.)

Paul Trible, Jr. (R, Va. 1st Cong. Dist.)

Among white congressional candidates who were opposed, black voters supported 45 winners with 80 percent or more of their votes. (See Table IV.) For a complete description of the black vote in the congressional elections, see the section on "Black Voter Behavior."

Fifty-six percent of registered blacks voted in the congressional elections.

Gubernatorial Elections

The Joint Center monitored black voter participation in five of the 14 gubernatorial elections. Overall black voter participation was 62 percent of those registered. In the South, turnout was 52 percent; outside of the South, 64 percent of registered black voters turned out for gubernatorial elections.

TABLE IV: BLACK VOTER PARTICIPATION

1978 Congressional Elections
Estimates of District-Wide Black Voter Participation

1976 Presidential Vote	State and Congressional District	Black Voting Age Population	Estimated Black Registration	Est. Total Black Vote	Black Voter Turnout	Winning Candidate	Percent of Black Voting Age Population Who Voted	Estimated Total Black Vote for Winner	Winning Margin, Party
	MARYLAND								
10/10	Dist. 7	213 700	139 532	52	69 677	Parren Mitchell*	33	61 423	67 642 (D) -
	MICHIGAN								
9/10	Dist. 1	199 110	121 266	61	61 842	John Conyers	31	59 369	114 457 (D) -
	Dist. 5	12 641	7 698	60	3 849	Harold S. Sawyer	11	423	14 573 (R)
8/10	Dist. 6	13 802	8 465	62	3 530	Bob Carr	26	3 167	12 999 (D)
	Dist. 7	32 101	19 561	54	10 559	Dale E. Kildee	33	10 135	29 466 (D) -
9/10	Dist. 8	14 615	8 931	55	4 685	Bob Traxler	16	4 551	31 729 (D)
10/10	Dist. 13	178 646	109 404	47	51 489	Charles Diggs	51	46 759	73 510 (D) -
	MISSISSIPPI								
3/10	Dist. 1	76 057	44 030	15	6 605	Jamie Whitten	100	6 605	** (D)
9/10	Dist. 2	104 365	58 852	39	22 388	Thad Cochran	19	4 250	74 197 (R)
	MISSOURI								
9/10	Dist. 1	147 870	93 058	75	67 543	William Clay	63	62 015	40 135 (D)†
10/10	Dist. 5	64 899	39 344	60	27 149	Richard Bolling	62	22 262	58 982 (D)
	NEW JERSEY								
8/10	Dist. 10	148 894	85 634	58	47 089	Peter W. Rodino	58	44 447	72 894 (D) -
	Dist. 14	34 210	20 634	62	12 917	Joseph Lafante	63	10 721	8 885 (D)†
	NEW YORK								
10/10	Dist. 3*	54 691	33 301	56	18 648	Henry J. Nowak	64	13 865	74 786 (D-L)
	NORTH CAROLINA								
2/10	Dist. 1	88 693	59 573	53	36 884	Walter B. Jones	55	24 928	68 691 (D)
1/10	Dist. 2	100 572	68 441	61	34 429	L. H. Fountain	100	34 429	** (D)
	Dist. 3	66 607	36 694	53	20 938	Charles Whitley	64	17 227	41 607 (D) -
6/10	Dist. 4	66 130	37 297	51	19 022	Ike F. Andrews	56	18 841	32 940 (D) -
5/10	Dist. 6	53 967	32 129	49	15 743	Richardson Preyer	100	15 743	69 213 (D)
5/10	Dist. 7	67 430	38 031	62	23 579	Charles G. Rose	59	23 343	73 643 (D) -
1/10	Dist. 9	56 699	32 052	50	16 026	James G. Martin	5	801	11 511 (R)
	OHIO								
3/10	Dist. 1	58 613	34 599	67	23 181	Bill Gradison	9	2 086	52 736 (R)
	Dist. 2	29 360	17 874	60	10 724	Thomas A. Luken	92	9 867	4 856 (D)†
10/10	Dist. 3	44 937	27 105	53	14 396	Charles W. Whalen	49	7 039	66 804 (R)
9/10	Dist. 12	57 381	16 661	74	12 344	Samuel L. Devine	7	864	1 910 (R) -
4/10	Dist. 15	39 740	21 766	59	10 883	Chalmers Wylie	25	2 721	51 426 (R)
10/10	Dist. 21	103 491	111 746	65	72 636	Louis Stokes	91	65 696	76 880 (D) -
	PENNSYLVANIA								
	Dist. 1	115 333	70 239	65	44 952	Michael Myers	96	38 809	73 393 (D) -
9/10	Dist. 2	166 791	113 756	67	76 216	Robert Nix Sr.	62	62 497	71 211 (D) -
	Dist. 3	78 683	47 589	59	28 080	Raymond Lederer	89	24 973	62 648 (D) -
10/10	Dist. 14	62 932	38 326	60	26 051	William Moorhead	91	23 716	70 338 (D) -
	SOUTH CAROLINA								
8/10	Dist. 1	78 370	44 765	57	23 278	Mendel Davis	90	20 950	46 976 (D) -
3/10	Dist. 2	65 647	40 474	62	30 054	Floyd Spence	3	1 803	23 147 (R)
5/10	Dist. 5	75 257	42 445	56	29 287	Kenneth Holland	93	26 359	4 374 (D)†
5/10	Dist. 6	68 262	46 774	67	33 349	John Jenrette Jr.	97	32 349	15 182 (D)†
	TENNESSEE								
5/10	Dist. 3	32 949	18 358	49	8 995	Marilyn Lloyd	96	8 635	87 166 (D)
9/10	Dist. 5	56 006	32 727	54	17 672	Clifford Allen	99	17 496	115 186 (D)
9/10	Dist. 9	135 930	78 865	66	50 599	Harold Ford	96	48 575	36 995 (D)†
9/10	TEXAS Dist. 1	56 828	31 240	55	16 831	Charles Wilson	100	16 831	110 228 (D)
	Dist. 5	55 885	37 465	67	13 224	Jim Mattox	57	12 827	10 646 (D)†
7/10	Dist. 9	58 144	33 367	58	18 660	Jack Brooks	100	18 660	** (D)
7/10	Dist. 12	42 491	23 814	62	10 044	Jim Wright	39	8 643	69 372 (D)
10/10	Dist. 18	122 570	69 000	45	31 630	Barbara Jordan	100	31 630	77 238 (D) -
3/10	Dist. 26	64 366	35 246	42	15 333	Dale Milford	98	14 814	35 451 (D)+
	VIRGINIA								
	Dist. 1	56 694	46 391	73	33 800	Paul Trible Jr.	25	8 488	2 366 (R)†
9/10	Dist. 2	80 290	51 224	67	22 782	G. W. Whitehurst	10	2 278	36 701 (R)
9/10	Dist. 3	75 804	42 641	49	20 884	G. William Whitehurst	57	10 170	93 599 (D)
1/10	Dist. 4	67 885	55 888	69	50 279	Robert W. Daniel	16	8 043	8 332 (R) -
9/10	Dist. 9	75 125	42 577	25	10 594	W. C. Daniel	100	10 594	** (D)
	WISCONSIN								
9/10	Dist. 5	58 245	32 436	76	22 886	Henry S. Reuss	96	21 790	36 649 (D)

*The ratings are based on a Leadership Conference on Civil Rights evaluation of voting on 10 civil rights issues. A perfect score is 10/10.
**Percentage of Black registrants who voted.
***Percents are rounded. Where a candidate is shown as receiving 100 percent of black votes, the candidate was unopposed or the opponent received less than one-half of 1 percent.
× × Winning margin not available because vote totals not reported.
--Winning margin not available because candidate was unopposed.
† A dagger denotes a candidate whose winning margin was less than the estimated number of black votes received.
+ A plus denotes a candidate whose black vote total was more than half of the winning margin.
– A minus denotes a candidate whose black vote total was more than one-fourth of the winning margin.

Percentage of Black Registrants Who Voted.

**Winning margin not available because vote totals not reported.
*Winning margin not available because candidate was unopposed.

**Winning margin not available because vote totals not reported.
**Winning margin not available because candidate was unopposed.

TABLE V: BLACK VOTER PARTICIPATION

1978 Gubernatorial Elections
Estimates of Statewide Black Voter Participation

State	Black Voting Age Population	Estimated Black Registration	Black Voter Turnout	Estimated Total Black Vote	Winning Candidate	Percent of Black Voting Age Population Who Voted	Estimated Black Vote for Winner	Winning Margin, Party
SOUTH								
Arkansas	217 000	122 208	44	53 851	David Pryor	52	48 543	477 227 (D)
North Carolina	722 000	386 888 (actual)	54	214 330	James B. Hunt Jr.	54	201 461	516 608 (D)
Turnout in South			52					
NON-SOUTH								
Illinois	553 000	580 577	60	358 834	James R. Thompson	21	75 585	1 362 478 (R)
Indiana	242 000	147 378	64	94 322	Otis R. Bowen	7	6 603	380 384 (R)
Missouri	311 600	189 388	66	138 985	Joseph Teasdale	85	112 388	12 206 (D)
Turnout outside South			64					
Turnout in all gubernatorial races			62					

TABLE VI: BLACK VOTER PARTICIPATION

1978 - Other Statewide Elections
Estimates of Statewide Black Voter Participation

State, Election	Black Voting Age Population	Estimated Black Registration	Black Voter Turnout	Estimated Total Black Vote	Winning Candidate	Percent of Black Voting Age Population Who Voted	Estimated Black Vote for Winner	Winning Margin, Party
ILLINOIS								
Attorney General	953 000	580 577	62	359 834	William J. Scott	10	35 983	976 339 (R)
NORTH CAROLINA								
Secretary of State	722 000	386 888 (actual)	46	182 568	Thad Eure	79	142 400	480 670 (D)

Three winning Democratic gubernatorial candidates received strong black support. They were Arkansas' David Pryor, North Carolina's James B. Hunt, Jr., and Missouri's Joseph P. Teasdale. (See Table V.)

In Missouri, solid black support helped Democratic challenger Joseph Teasdale unseat Republican Governor Christopher (Kit) Bond. The race was neck and neck with each candidate receiving about 50 percent of the vote. Teasdale defeated Bond by a 12,209-vote margin while blacks gave Teasdale 112,389 votes.

Two black candidates ran for statewide offices in November. (See Table VI.) In Illinois, former State Senator Cecil A. Partee challenged incumbent Republican Attorney General William J. Scott. In North Carolina, Republican Asa Spaulding, Jr., faced Secretary of State Thad Eure.

Partee won the Democratic primary with 63 percent of the vote, but lost the general election for the attorney general position to incumbent Scott. Blacks, however, supported Partee with 90 percent of their votes.

North Carolina had not nominated a black for statewide office since Reconstruction. Asa Spaulding, Jr., changed his registration from Democrat to Republican in 1972 because he felt there were not enough blacks in the Republican Party. In his campaign for secretary of state, he attempted to attract Democratic voters, black and white, without eroding his Republican support. But incumbent Eure easily won re-election with 67 percent of the total vote and 78 percent of the black vote.

This discussion of the black vote in relation to major categories of elections should conclude with the blunting of two assumptions about the black vote.

As other JCPS studies have documented, the survey shows that the black vote is not automatically locked in the Democratic column. This is especially evident in congressional, state, and local races. Nor is it true that blacks always support black candidates.

In 1976, black Americans took a major step forward in their quest for political power to pursue their hopes and aspirations. The next section of this report details that effort.

Birmingham, Alabama, 1963.

Black Voter Behavior

The following sections describe black voter behavior in each of 84 congressional districts where the Joint Center monitored elections. The descriptions include the following information for most congressional districts:

- Proportionate size of the black voting age population;
- Turnout of registered black voters for national and state races on November 2, 1976;
- Percentage of black votes received by Carter within each district;
- Choices made by blacks in gubernatorial, Senate, and House races;
- Ratings by the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights (LCCR) of all candidates who were members of Congress during the 94th session on 10 civil rights issues. A perfect score is 10.

Alabama

Presidential Race

Blacks in Alabama constitute 22 percent of the voting-age population and gave Carter 86.4 percent of their votes. Black voter turnout was 68 percent.

The estimated number of black votes for Carter in Alabama was 182,500. Carter's winning margin was about 148,631, less than the number of votes provided by blacks. The state of Alabama cast nine electoral votes for Carter.

Congressional Races

Although 171 blacks have been elected to state, county, and municipal offices, no blacks have been elected to Congress since Reconstruction.

Turnout among blacks was 64 percent for the four congressional races monitored by the Joint Center.

☐ DISTRICT 1. This district, which includes the city of Mobile, has a voting-age population that is 29 percent black. Black voter turnout was more than 58 percent of registered voters for the presidential election in which approximately 91 percent of black votes went to Carter.

Republican incumbent Rep. Jack Edwards was re-elected with 64 percent of the vote. Edwards, a conservative Republican first elected in 1964, was given a rating of 1 by LCCR. The Democratic candidate was Bill Davenport, a real estate broker.

☐ DISTRICT 2. This district, which includes the city of Montgomery, has a voting-age population that is more than one-fourth black.

Voters re-elected Republican incumbent Rep. William L. Dickinson, who was first elected in 1964 and has an LCCR rating of 2. Dickinson defeated Democratic challenger J. Carole Keahey, with 59 percent of the district vote.

Black voters gave Keahey 81 percent of their votes. Turnout of registered black voters was approximately 47 percent.

☐ DISTRICT 3. This district, which includes Macon County, has a black voting-age population of 27 percent. Black voters gave Carter about 86 percent of their votes.

Incumbent Democratic Rep. Bill Nichols, who was first elected in 1966, faced only Prohibition

Turnout among registered black voters for the congressional race was about 44 percent, and all but 2 percent of black votes went to Nichols, whose LCCR rating is 1.

☐ DISTRICT 6. This district, which includes most of Birmingham, has a black voting-age population of 27 percent. Blacks cast 85 percent of their votes for Carter. Turnout was a high 74 percent of registered voters.

Incumbent Republican Rep. John Buchanan, Jr., defeated Democratic challenger Mel Bailey, Sheriff of Jefferson County, and three other candidates. Buchanan took 56 percent of district votes. First elected in 1964, he has an LCCR rating of 2.

Blacks cast 79 percent of their votes for Bailey and a little less than 2 percent for National Democratic Party of Alabama (NDPA) candidate Billy Dorsey. Turnout of registered black voters for the congressional race was 72 percent.

☐ DISTRICT 7. This district, which includes Tuscaloosa and Bessemer, has a black voting-age population of 33 percent. Black voters gave Carter approximately 88 percent of their votes. Black turnout for the presidential election was more than 74 percent of those registered.

Democratic incumbent. Rep. Walter Flowers, who was first elected in 1968, ran without Republican opposition. Flowers has an LCCR rating of 2. Turnout of registered black voters for the congressional election was about 63 percent.

Arkansas

Presidential Race

Blacks in two congressional districts in Arkansas gave Carter more than 84 percent of their votes to help give him the state's six electoral votes. His winning margin was approximately 229,200 votes. Black voters provided him with about 62,700 votes. Turnout of registered black voters was about 61 percent. Blacks of voting-age constitute almost 15 percent of the state's voting-age population.

Gubernatorial Race

Ninety-two percent of the black vote went to incumbent Democrat David Pryor. First elected in 1974, Pryor won re-election in a race against Republican candidate Leon Griffith. The governor's share of the total vote, 84 percent, was less than his share of black support.

Congressional Races

☐ DISTRICT 1. This district, which includes West Memphis, has a black voting-age population of 19 percent. Carter garnered 84 percent of black votes in the district, where 63 percent of all registered blacks turned out to vote.

Democratic incumbent Rep. Bill Alexander, with 64 percent of district votes, beat Republican Harlan Holleman. Black voters supported Alexander, who had an LCCR rating of 5, with 62 percent of their votes. Turnout of registered black voters was 50 percent.

☐ DISTRICT 4. This district, which includes Pine Bluff, has a black voting-age population of 27 percent. Carter won 85 percent of the black votes in the district. About 58 percent of registered blacks voted.

Democrat Ray Thornton, first elected in 1972, was re-elected to the House without Republican opposition. He has an LCCR rating of 7. Vote totals in black areas are not available for the unopposed House race.

California

Presidential Race

Black voters in four cities in California gave Carter more than 92 percent of their votes. Although former President Ford won California by a margin of 127,337 votes, capturing the state's 45 electoral votes, the Joint Center estimates that Carter received 407,100 black votes. Black voter turnout was more than 67 percent.

Senatorial Race

Republican S. I. Hayakawa won the state with about 50 percent of the vote. Blacks, however, supported incumbent Democrat John Tunney with 91 percent of their votes. Tunney's LCCR rating is 7. Black voter turnout for this close race was approximately 58 percent of those registered.

Congressional Races

In the four congressional races sampled, black voter turnout was 58 percent of those registered. Blacks constitute a little more than 7 percent of the voting-age population of California.

California's three incumbent black members of the House of Representatives were re-elected by wide margins. Yvonne Burke, District 28, whose LCCR rating is 10, was re-elected with 80 percent of the vote. Augustus Hawkins, District 29, re-elected with 88 percent of the vote, has a LCCR rating of 10. For a description of the race involving Rep. Ron Dellums, see the discussion of District 8.

In District 32, Clifford O. Young, a black Republican from Carson, was defeated by incumbent Democratic Rep. Glenn M. Anderson, who polled 72 percent of the vote.

☐ DISTRICT 1. This district, which includes the city of Compton, has a voting-age population that is 23 percent black.

Carter garnered about 94 percent of the black vote. Black voter turnout was almost 75 percent of those registered.

In the House race, incumbent Democratic Rep. Charles H. Wilson faced no Republican opposition. Wilson, who was first elected in 1962, has an LCCR rating of 9. He polled about 23,000 black votes.

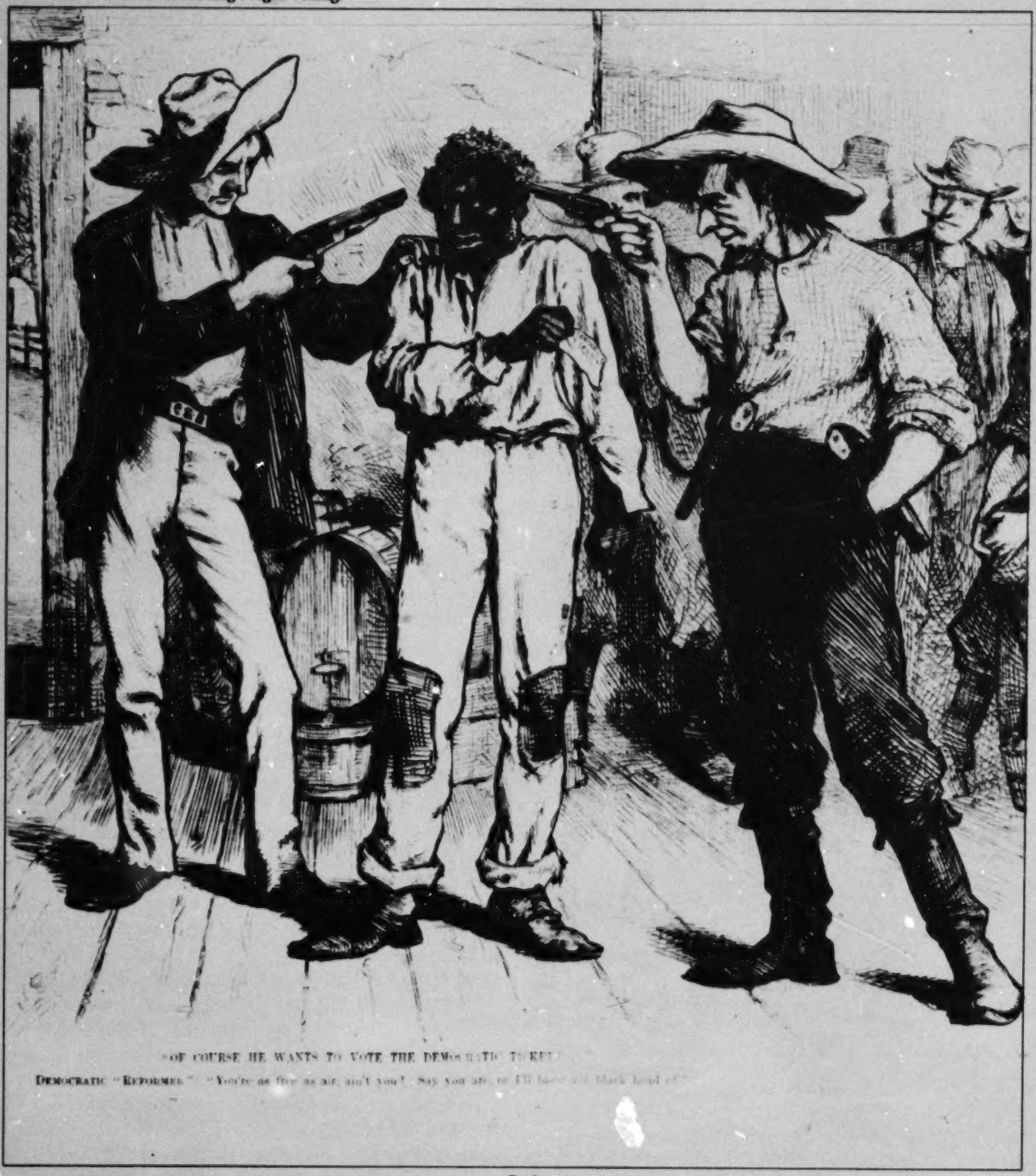
☐ DISTRICT 6. This district, which includes part of San Francisco, has a black voting-age population of about 9 percent. Black voters gave Carter 82 percent of their votes and gave third party candidates an unusually high 11 percent. Black voter turnout of those registered was about 63 percent.

In the House race, Democratic incumbent Rep. Phillip Burton defeated Republican Tom Spinosa and third party candidates with 66 percent of the district vote.

Blacks gave 94 percent of their votes to Burton. First elected in 1964, Burton received a rating of 9 from LCCR. Black voter turnout for the Burton race was 52 percent of those registered.

☐ DISTRICT 7. This district, which includes the city of Richmond, has a black voting-age population of 8 percent. About 71 percent of registered blacks turned out to vote and gave 91 percent of their votes to Carter.

Detail of print from *Harper's Weekly*, Oct. 21, 1876.
Southern whites intimidating Negro voting.



"OF COURSE HE WANTS TO VOTE THE DEMOCRATIC TICKET."

DEMOCRATIC "REFORMER." "You're as free as air, ain't you? Say you are, or I'll [illegible]"

Incumbent Democratic Rep. George Miller was re-elected with 75 percent of the district vote. Miller, who was first elected in 1974, faced Republican lawyer Robert Vickers and an American Independent Party candidate.

Miller, whose LCCR rating is 10, got 96 percent of black votes in his district. Black voter turnout for the house race was 66 percent of those registered.

☐ DISTRICT 8. This district, which includes Oakland, has a black voting-age population which is about 18 percent of the total.

Black voters in the district gave Carter about 93 percent of their votes and a little more than 58 percent of those registered turned out to vote.

Incumbent Democratic Rep. Ronald Dellums, who was first elected in 1970, faced Republican Philip Breck, Jr., and Peace and Freedom candidate Robert J. Evans. Dellums won the election with about 62 percent of the district vote.

Black voter turnout of registered voters was about 56 percent and almost 97 percent of the black vote went to the incumbent, whose LCCR rating is a 10.

Florida

Presidential Race

Florida's 17 electoral college votes went to Carter, whose statewide winning margin was about 186,087. The Joint Center estimates that blacks in Florida provided approximately 261,800 votes for Carter, more votes than his winning margin.

Florida, at the time of the election, had about 671,000 blacks of voting age or 11 percent of the state's total voting-age population. According to state records which show registration by race, 409,905 or 61 percent of blacks of voting age were registered. In four sample cities, about 95 percent of black votes went to Carter and a little more than 67 percent of those registered turned out to vote.

Senatorial Race

In the Senate race, incumbent Democrat Lawton Chiles, took 62 percent of the total vote in defeating Republican John L. Grady, a physician and John Birch Society member. Chiles, first elected in 1970, has an LCCR rating of 4.

Blacks gave Chiles about 90 percent of their votes. Black turnout for the Senate race was slightly more than 45 percent of those registered.

Congressional Races

In the four House races monitored by JCPS, overall black turnout was approximately 46 percent of those registered.

☐ DISTRICT 2. This district, which includes Tallahassee, has a black population that makes up one-fourth of the total voting-age population.

Almost 97 percent of black votes in the district went to Carter. Turnout of registered black voters for the presidential race was a high of 80 percent.

Incumbent Democratic Rep. Don Fuqua, who won a narrow primary victory, faced no Republican opposition. Fuqua, first elected in 1962, has an LCCR rating of 4.

☐ DISTRICT 3. This district, which includes most of Jacksonville, has a black voting-age population of 23 percent.

Carter got 96 percent of black votes. Turnout of registered black voters was 64 percent.

Incumbent Democratic Rep. Charles E. Bennett was re-elected without opposition. Bennett, first elected in 1948, has an LCCR rating of 6.

☐ DISTRICT 7. This district, which includes Tampa, has a black voting-age population which is about 11 percent of the total.

More than 95 percent of the district's black votes went to Carter. Turnout of registered black voters was 66 percent.

Incumbent Democratic Rep. Sam Gibbons faced Republican Dusty Owens. Gibbons, a businessman with an LCCR rating of 4, was re-elected with 66 percent of the district vote, including 94 percent of the black vote. Black turnout was 57 percent of those registered.

☐ DISTRICT 13. This district, which includes part of Miami, has a black voting-age population of about 15 percent of the total.

In Miami, as a whole, covering congressional districts 13, 14, and 15, turnout was 70 percent of black registered voters. Carter got more than 94 percent of the votes in sample black areas in Miami.

By contrast, during the 1972 presidential election, the Joint Center estimated that 84 percent of black votes in Miami went to Democratic candidate McGovern. Turnout of registered black voters was approximately 67 percent.

In the House race, incumbent Democratic Rep. William Lehman faced Republican Lee Arnold Spiegelman, a lawyer.

Lehman, first elected in 1972, was re-elected with 78 percent of

the district vote. Blacks gave Lehman, whose LCCR rating is 9, 96 percent of their votes. Turnout of registered black voters for the House race was a little more than 44 percent.

☐ DISTRICT 14. This district, which includes part of the city of Miami, has a black voting-age population which is about 12 percent of the total.

Rep. Claude Pepper, the Democratic incumbent, defeated Republican Evelio S. Estrella with 73 percent of the vote.

Blacks gave 96 percent of their votes to Pepper, a congressman since 1962, who has an LCCR rating of 10. Turnout of registered black voters was about 46 percent.

☐ DISTRICT 15. This district has a black voting-age population which is about 8 percent of the total. Although it is primarily suburban, the district includes a small part of downtown Miami.

Incumbent Democratic Rep. Dante Fascell faced Republican Paul R. Cobb in the race for the House seat. Fascell, who was first elected in 1954, was re-elected with 71 percent of the district vote.

Slightly more than 47 percent of registered black voters turned out for the House race. Fascell, whose LCCR rating is 9, received more than 94 percent of black votes.

Georgia

Presidential Race

In Georgia, one of the most heavily black states in the nation and home of the new President, blacks of voting-age represent almost one-fourth of the voting-age population.

In the six Georgia cities sampled, blacks gave Carter more than 96 percent of their votes. More than six out of ten registered blacks turned out to vote, helping to give Carter the state's 12 electoral college votes. The overall margin was 482,500 votes.

Congressional Races

In the six congressional races examined by the Joint Center, overall black voter turnout was 51 percent of those registered.

☐ DISTRICT 1. This district, which includes Savannah, has a black voting-age population which is about 30 percent of the total. About 93 percent of black votes in the district went to Carter, and about 64 percent of registered black voters turned out.

The potential strength of black voters was made a reality during the 1972 House election of Democratic incumbent Rep. Ronald Ginn. In that year, black voters supported Ginn during a heavily contested runoff election. In November 1976, Ginn had no opposition. His LCCR rating is 2.

☐ DISTRICT 2. This district, in southwestern Georgia, includes Albany. Thirty-two percent of the voting-age population is black. Black voters in this district gave Carter 96 percent of their votes and nearly two-thirds of them (63 percent) turned out to vote.

Incumbent Democratic Rep. Dawson Mathis, who was first elected in 1970, was unopposed in winning re-election. His LCCR rating is 1.

☐ DISTRICT 3. This district, which includes Columbus, has a black voting-age population which is 28 percent of the total.

Incumbent Democratic Rep. Jack Brinkley, first elected in 1966, faced Republican Steve Dugan. Brinkley won 89 percent of the district votes. His LCCR rating is 2. Fifty-six percent of registered black voters turned out, giving Brinkley 95 percent of their vote.

Black voters in the district gave Carter more than 93 percent of their votes, with more than 62 percent of those registered voting in the presidential election.

☐ DISTRICT 5. This district, which is former Rep. Andrew Young's old district, includes most of the city of Atlanta. Black voters there, who represent 40 percent of the voting-age population, gave Carter 98 percent of their votes. Fifty-nine percent of registered black voters cast ballots in the presidential race.

Democrat Young, first elected in 1972, faced Republican Edward W. Gadrix, an Atlanta lawyer, in the November election. Young won the district with 67 percent of the vote.

Sixty-one percent of the registered black voters turned out to give Young 96 percent of their votes. Young's LCCR rating is 9.

In December, Young became the President's choice for the position of the U. S. Ambassador to the United Nations. Among candidates for Young's seat were John Lewis, a black who resigned as executive director of the Voter Education Project; City Council President Wyche Fowler, who is white; and Paul Coverdell, a Georgia State Senator. These three candidates were the top vote getters in a special election held March 15, 1977. In the runoff election held April 5, 1977, Wyche Fowler edged out Lewis to gain Young's seat.

☐ DISTRICT 8. This district, in central Georgia, includes Macon County. The district has a black

Source: *Harper's Weekly*.
Two members of the Ku-Klux Klan in their disguises during the Reconstruction era.

voting-age population comprising 27 percent of the total.

Black voters in the district gave Carter 95 percent of their votes. Approximately 58 percent of those blacks registered turned out to vote in the presidential race.

Democratic State Rep. Billy Lee Evans and former Republican State Sen. Billy Adams vied for the House seat vacated by Rep. William Stuckey, a conservative who retired after five terms. Evans won the district with 69 percent of the vote.

Black voters supported Evans with 86 percent of their votes. Turnout of black registered voters was 45 percent.

☐ DISTRICT 10. This district, taking in the city of Augusta, has a black voting-age population which is 28 percent of the total.

Carter garnered 97 percent of black votes in the district. Black voter turnout was a strong 62 percent.

The retirement of Democratic Rep. Robert Stephens resulted in a hotly contested Democratic primary. The winner of the primary, Doug Barnard, won the congressional race without Republican opposition.

Illinois

Presidential Race

Illinois' prize of 26 electoral votes went to President Ford, whose statewide margin was 101,117 votes. Most black support, over 92 percent, went to Carter. The turnout of registered black voters was 66 percent.

In 1968, 93 percent of black votes in Illinois went to Democratic presidential candidate Hubert Humphrey. In 1972, George McGovern did almost as well with 92 percent of the Illinois black vote.

Gubernatorial Race

Incumbent Democratic Gov. Daniel Walker lost his bid for re-election in the spring primary. Secretary of State Michael Howlett, a Democrat, faced Republican James R. Thompson and several third-party candidates in the November gubernatorial election.

Thompson, who as U. S. Attorney for Cook County prosecuted several local politicians on corruption charges, won the state with 65 percent of the vote, enjoying a margin of approximately 1.4 million votes. Black voters gave Thompson about 21 percent of their votes and Howlett about 79 percent.

Other Statewide Races

In the race for state attorney general, black Democratic State Sen. Cecil Partee faced incumbent Republican William Scott. Partee, who won his party's nomination with 63 percent of the state vote, had defeated Ronald Stackler in the Democratic primary. However, Scott, a conservative, won the general election with about 65 percent of the state vote. Black voters, in a 62 percent turnout, gave Partee about 90 percent of their votes.

Offices requiring statewide election, such as the attorney general's slot sought by Partee, are the most difficult positions for blacks to win. Only 15 blacks, including University of Illinois Trustee Earl L. Neal, hold such offices in the U. S.

Congressional Races

Black voter turnout was 62 percent of those registered in the five congressional races monitored by the Joint Center. Illinois' two black members of Congress, Cardiss Collins and Ralph Metcalfe, were re-elected. But a black Republican candidate for the District 2 seat, Spencer Leak, was defeated by incumbent Democratic Rep. Morgan Murphy

☐ DISTRICT 1. This district, located in the heavily black South Side of Chicago, has a voting-age population that is 86 percent black. The incumbent Democratic congressman in District 1 is Ralph Metcalfe, who has held the seat since 1970. In 1973, Metcalfe began to challenge the political hold of Mayor Richard J. Daley, who controlled most elements of the Democratic party until his death in 1976. Despite opposition from the Daley machine, Metcalfe has won re-election every time with overwhelming majorities. In 1976, he took 70 percent of the primary votes against a Daley protege, Erwin France, and then went on to beat a black former alderman, Republican A. A. Rayner, with 92 percent of the district vote in November. The voter turnout in the general election was 64 percent. Metcalfe's LCCR rating is 8.

☐ DISTRICT 2. This district, on the far South Side of Chicago, has a black voting-age population that is 34 percent of the total.

Incumbent Democratic Rep. Morgan F. Murphy faced Republican Spencer Leak for the House seat. Murphy, initially elected in 1970, was re-elected with 85 percent of the district vote. Ninety-two percent of blacks casting ballots voted for Murphy, whose LCCR rating is 10.

Turnout of registered black voters was 60 percent.

☐ DISTRICT 5. This district, the home of the late Mayor Richard Daley, elected Democratic incumbent Rep. John G. Fary who took office in 1975 in a special election following the death of John Kluczynski. Fary won re-election in 1976 in a race against Republican Vincent Krok, polling 77 percent of the district vote. Fary, who was a member of the House for only part of the 94th Congress, managed an LCCR rating of 2.

Black voters gave Fary 94 percent of their votes; 57 percent of those registered turned out to vote in the congressional election. Blacks comprise 27 percent of the voting-age population in the district.

☐ DISTRICT 7. This district, west of the Chicago Loop is 47 percent black in voting-age population. Rep. Cardiss Collins has represented the district since 1973, when she won a special election made necessary by the death of her husband, George Collins, in a 1972 airplane crash.

In the 1976 race, Collins faced Newell Ward, a Republican. She was re-elected with 84 percent of the district vote, including 96 percent of the black vote. Blacks voting in the congressional election comprised 66 percent of all blacks registered to vote.

Collins has a 10 LCCR rating.

☐ DISTRICT 23. This district, whose voting-age population is 13 percent black, includes East St. Louis.

Black voters gave Carter 91 percent of their votes; 61 percent of those registered turned out to vote for president.

In the gubernatorial race, black support in East St. Louis for Democrat Howlett was stronger than among Chicago's black voters. In Chicago, Howlett got 79 percent of the black votes, while in East St. Louis he garnered 86 percent. Fifty-two percent of registered blacks voted in East St. Louis, 10 percentage points lower than Chicago's 62 percent turnout.

In the House race, incumbent Democratic Rep. Melvin Price, first elected in 1944, ran against Republican Sam P. Drenovac. Price won the district with 79 percent of the vote.

Price, whose LCCR rating is 10, was popular with black voters who gave him 93 percent of their votes. Turnout of registered black voters for the House race was 57 percent.

Indiana

Presidential Race

President Ford won Indiana's 13 electoral votes by a margin of 163,734 votes. Black voters, however, gave Carter more than 93 percent of their votes in a state where they constitute 7 percent of the voting-age population. Black voter turnout for the presidential election was 66 percent.

Gubernatorial Race

Republican incumbent Gov. Otis R. Bowen, who was first elected in 1972, faced Democratic Secretary of State Larry Conrad and two third-party candidates. Bowen was re-elected with about 57 percent of the state vote. About 92 percent of the black vote went to Conrad with over 64 percent of registered black voters participating in the gubernatorial election.

Senatorial Race

Incumbent Democratic Sen. Vance Hartke was ousted by Richard Lugar, the former mayor of Indianapolis, whom some credit with masterminding the consolidation of Indianapolis and most of Marion County. The consolidation is felt by blacks to have weakened their potential political strength.

Lugar won the statewide race with 59 percent of the vote. Blacks, however, supported Hartke with 90 percent of their votes. Turnout of black voters for the senate race was 64 percent. Hartke, who was initially elected in 1958, had an LCCR rating of 8.

Congressional Races

Overall black voter turnout for the two House races monitored by the Joint Center was 63 percent of those registered.

☐ DISTRICT 1. This district, which includes Gary, has a black voting-age population comprising 21 percent of the total.

Black voter turnout for the presidential election was 66 percent of those registered. Black voters gave Carter 95 percent of their votes. In comparison, McGovern took 89 percent of Gary's black vote in 1972.

Incumbent Democratic Rep. Ray J. Madden was defeated in the spring primary by Democratic State Sen. Adam Benjamin. Madden, who served as chairman of the House Rules Committee, had served since 1942. His LCCR rating was 8.

Benjamin, a lawyer, faced Republican Robert Billings, a high school principal, in the November election. Benjamin won the district with 66 percent of the vote. Black support for Benjamin, 95 percent of

Cartoon from *Crisis* magazine circa 1915.

After decision (1915) by Supreme Court declaring the use of the "Grandfather Clause" unconstitutional. Grandfather Clauses were state-sponsored legal devices to disfranchise blacks without (supposedly) violating the 15th Amendment. They began in 1898 and restricted voting rights to men whose fathers or grandfathers had voted in 1867 prior to the passage of the Congressional Reconstruction Act.

those voting, provided more than a quarter of his winning margin of 72,399. Black turnout for the House election was 64 percent of those registered.

☐ DISTRICT II. This district has recently undergone redistricting. Boundary changes in 1966 and 1972 reduced the number of blacks in the district, which includes part of the consolidated city of Indianapolis. Blacks now account for one-fifth of the voting-age population.

Carter gamered about 91 percent of black votes in the district, where 67 percent of those registered voted in the presidential election.

Incumbent Democratic Rep. Andrew Jacobs, Jr., was first elected in 1964. In 1972, Jacobs lost his seat to Republican William H. Hudnut, a minister, who served one term. Jacobs regained his seat in 1974. In the November 1976 election, he defeated Republican Lawrence L. Buell, the Marion County treasurer, by polling 61 percent of the vote. About 92 percent of blacks voting in the district voted for him. Jacobs has an LCCR rating of 6. Turnout of registered black voters was over 63 percent.

Kentucky

Presidential Race

In Kentucky, where black voters comprise about 7 percent of all those old enough to vote, Carter's winning margin of 85,239 votes secured for him the state's nine electoral college votes. The Joint Center estimates that 39,345 of those votes came from blacks. Turnout of registered black voters for the presidential election was about 55 percent.

Congressional Race

The Joint Center monitored one congressional race in Kentucky. Black voter turnout was 51 percent of those registered.

Inquiries concerning relatively low black voter turnout in Kentucky turned up the fact that registration rolls were last purged in 1972. Because turnout is based on the percentage of registered voters who actually participate, the lack of a comprehensive purge during a four-year period may be a factor in the low turnout rate.

☐ DISTRICT 3. This district, where black voters account for 18 percent of the voting-age population, includes the city of Louisville. Some black voters in Kentucky, unlike black voters in most of the rest of the nation, have maintained a Republican tradition. For example, during 1975, about a third of Kentucky's black elected officials were active Republicans.

Incumbent Rep. Romano L. Mazzoli, a Democrat from Louisville, was initially elected in 1970. In the 1976 race, Mazzoli faced Republican Denzil Ramsey, a school principal, and a third-party candidate.

Mazzoli won 57 percent of the district vote. Eighty-two percent of the black vote went to Mazzoli, who has an LCCR rating of 7. Fifty-one percent of the registered black voters turned out at the polls.

Louisiana

Presidential Race

Carter won Louisiana's 10 electoral college votes by amassing a margin of 77,308 popular votes. Black voter turnout for the presidential election was over 67 percent of registered voters. Almost all black voters—an estimated 94 percent—voted for Carter, giving him an estimated 264,000 votes.

Congressional Races

The Joint Center monitored congressional races in seven Louisiana districts where overall turnout of black registered voters was 64 percent. Black voters in Louisiana comprise more than one-fourth of all those old enough to vote.

☐ DISTRICT 1. This district was represented by conservative Democrat F. Edward Hebert from 1941 until 1976 when he decided to retire. Although 27 percent of the district's voters are black, Hebert's LCCR rating was only 2.

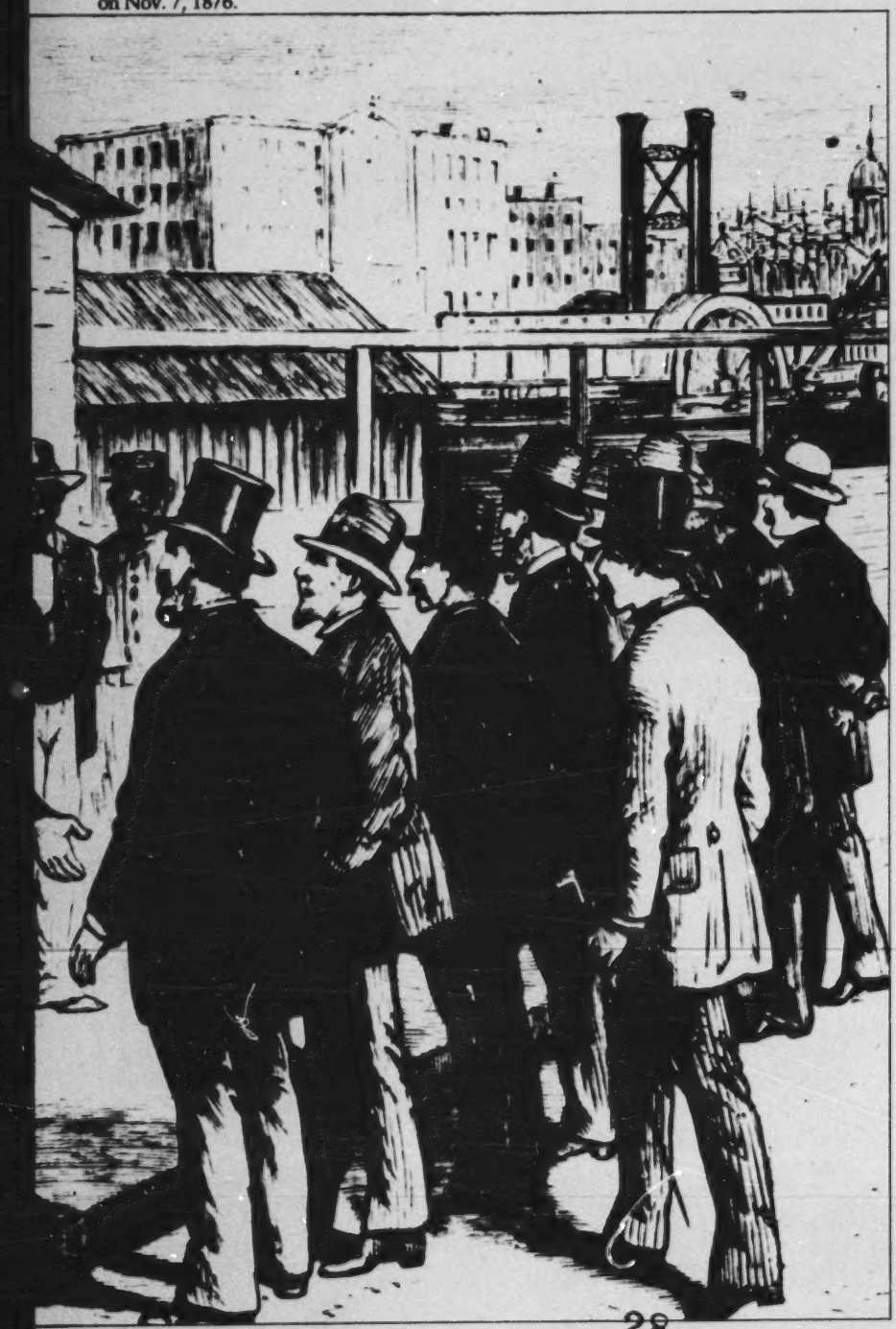
Most of the city of New Orleans is part of this district, although some parts fall within District 2. Black voters in New Orleans gave Carter 93 percent of their votes, with nearly three black voters out of four (74 percent) turning out to vote in the presidential election. State records indicate that there are about 87,500 blacks registered to vote in New Orleans.

In the general election, Democratic State Rep. Richard Tonry defeated Republican Robert E. Livingston and a third-party candidate, although Tonry took only 47 percent of the district vote. His winning margin of 5,021 was less than the estimated 19,200 black votes he polled. Approximately 95 percent of blacks voted for him; about 48 percent of those registered voted in the congressional election.

Tonry's election was challenged in the House by former New Orleans City Councilman James

"Louisiana—The Presidential Election" drawn by S. W. Bennett in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, Dec. 2, 1876.

Black and white voters in New Orleans on Nov. 7, 1876.



Moreau, who charged vote fraud in the Democratic primary. As a result of that challenge Tonry resigned his seat on May 5, 1977.

☐ DISTRICT 2. This district has been represented by Democratic Rep. Corrine Boggs since 1973, when a special election was held to replace her late husband, Rep. Hale Boggs, who was lost in a plane crash in 1972.

The district's black voting-age population is 36 percent of the total. In the 1976 election, Mrs. Boggs won 92 percent of the district vote and about 99 percent of the black vote. Boggs faced no Republican opposition but she was opposed by Independent Jules Hillary.

Boggs, whose LCCR rating is 8, attracted a turnout of 60 percent of registered black voters.

☐ DISTRICT 4. This district, which contains the city of Shreveport, has a voting-age population that is one-fourth black.

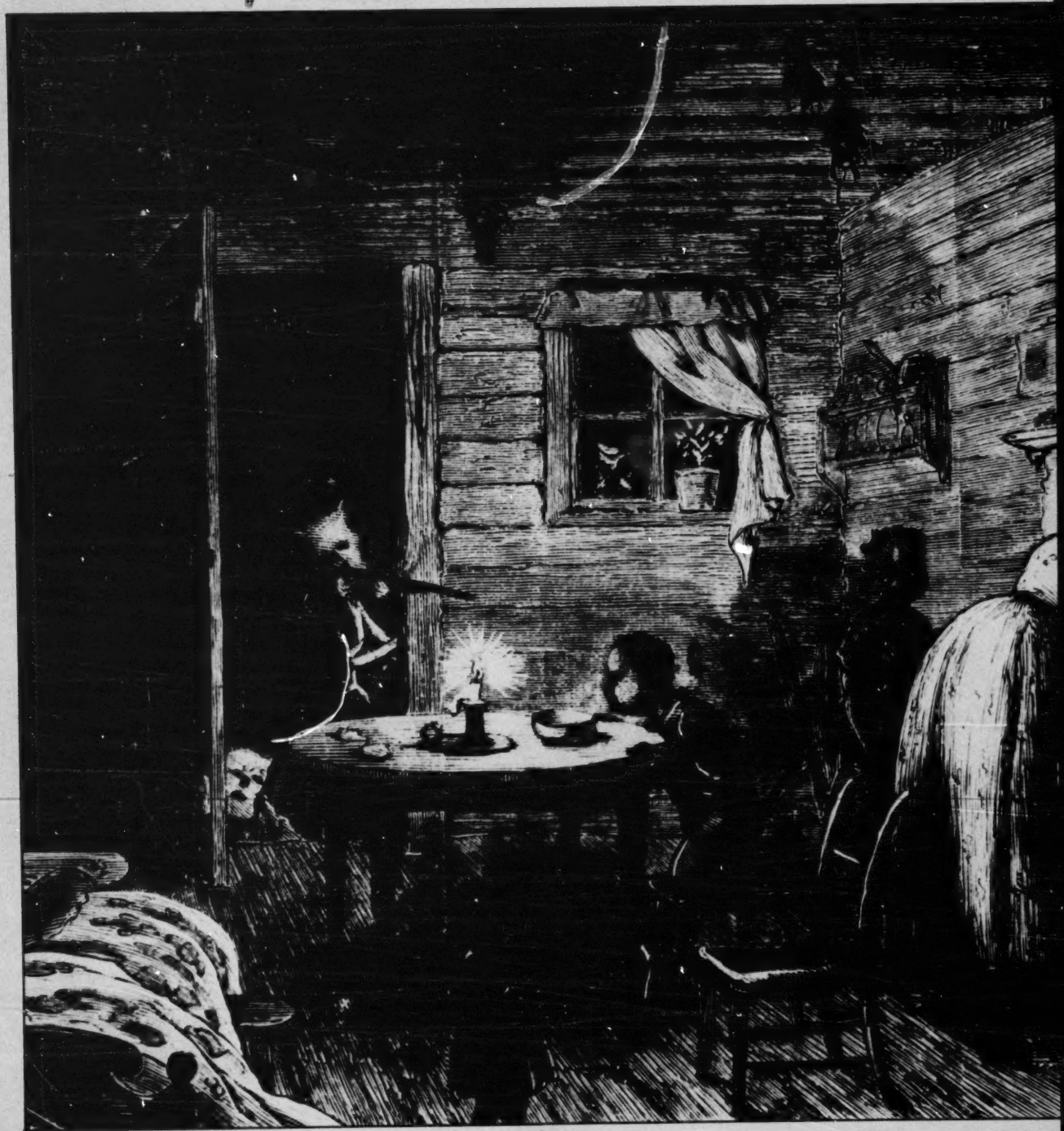
More than 64 percent of eligible black voters in the district participated in the 1976 presidential election, giving 95 percent of their vote to Carter.

Democratic Rep. Joel D. Waggonner, initially elected in 1961, has an LCCR rating of 1. He was re-elected in November without Republican opposition.

☐ DISTRICT 5. This district is located in the northeastern part of the state and contains the city of Monroe. Almost one-third of the district's voting-age population is black. A high 70 percent of registered black voters turned out for the 1976 presidential election and gave Carter almost all (92 percent) of their votes.

Democrat Otto Passman was the district's representative from 1946

Source: *Harper's Weekly*, June 9, 1867. The Ku-Klux Klan specialized in terrorizing black families at night in an effort to frighten them from voting.



until he lost the primary election in 1976 to Democrat Jerry Huckaby. Passman's LCCR rating was 3.

Huckaby faced conservative Republican Frank Spooner in the November House race and garnered 52 percent of the district vote. Black voters gave Huckaby 96 percent of their votes, contributing an estimated 28,895 votes, more than his narrow winning margin of 7,363. Turnout for the race was 63 percent of black registered voters.

☐ DISTRICT 6. This district takes in the state capital of Baton Rouge and has a black voting-age population that is more than one-fourth of the total.

More than 62 percent of registered black voters turned out to participate in the presidential election, and more than 94 percent of their votes were cast for Carter.

Incumbent Republican Rep. W. Henson Moore, who has an LCCR rating of 0, defeated Democratic challenger J. D. De Blieux, a former state senator, for the House seat. Although more than 91 percent of black votes went to De Blieux, Moore won with 65 percent of the district vote. Turnout of registered black voters was a low 46 percent. Moore was initially elected in 1975.

☐ DISTRICT 7. This district in southwestern Louisiana contains the city of Lafayette. Like most other Louisiana districts, the district has a substantial black population—almost one-fifth of all persons of voting-age.

Almost 89 percent of black votes in the district went to Carter, with about 54 percent of registered blacks voting in the election.

Incumbent Democratic Rep. John B. Breaux, initially elected to the House in 1972, was re-elected with 83 percent of the district vote. Breaux, whose LCCR rating is 3, faced Republican Charles Huff.

Only 40 percent of registered black voters cast ballots in the congressional race, giving most of their votes (96 percent) to Breaux.

☐ DISTRICT 8. This district includes both Evangeline Parish, where Cajun French is spoken as freely as English, and the city of Alexandria. Black voters, who comprise one-third of all voters in the district, cast about 92 percent of their votes for Carter, with about 66 percent of those registered voting.

Democratic incumbent Rep. Gillis W. Long, who has an LCCR rating of 8, attracted a black voter turnout of 50 percent of those registered even though he won re-election without Republican opposition.

Maryland

Presidential Race

Maryland's black population constitutes more than 18 percent of all those old enough to vote.

Carter won Maryland by 86,638 votes. Black voters in the state provided him with 149,794 votes thus enabling him to capture the state's 10 electoral votes. Turnout of black voters was about 56 percent of those registered.

Senatorial Race

Incumbent Republican Sen. J. Glenn Beall, Jr., first elected to the U. S. Senate in 1970, faced Democratic Rep. Paul S. Sarbanes and independent Bruce Bradley. Sarbanes won the Senate seat with 57 percent of the statewide vote.

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Although Beall's LCCR rating of 8 was comparatively high, black voters threw 93 percent of their support to Sarbanes, whose LCCR House rating was 9. Black voter turnout for the Senate race was 52 percent of those registered.

Congressional Race

Blacks have translated their political potential into support for responsive candidates, including a black representative to Congress.

☐ DISTRICT 7. This district, which includes the heavily black West Side of the city of Baltimore, has been represented since 1970 by black Democratic Rep. Parren J. Mitchell. Mitchell, whose LCCR rating is 10, won re-election in 1976, facing only Independent candidate William Salisbury, who garnered about 5 percent of the district vote.

Blacks, who account for 69 percent of the district's residents of voting age, gave Mitchell about 98 percent of their votes. About 52 percent of registered black voters turned out to vote in the only House race monitored by the Joint Center.

In the presidential balloting, Carter took 92 percent of black votes, and 56 percent of those registered turned out to vote.

In the 1972 presidential election, black voters in the district gave Democratic candidate George McGovern 87 percent of their votes.

Michigan

Presidential Race

Slightly more than 11 percent of Michigan's voters are black, and this power at the polls is reflected in the fact that with 245 black elected officials, Michigan has the third largest number of black elected officials among the fifty states.

President Ford won Michigan's 21 electoral votes with a winning margin of 188,924 votes. However, the Joint Center estimates that Michigan's black voters gave 208,100 or 88 percent of their votes, to Carter. About 55 percent of registered blacks voted.

Senatorial Race

Former Democratic Rep. Donald Riegle, Jr., took 53 percent of the statewide vote to defeat Republican Rep. Marvin L. Esch and five other candidates. The seat had been held by Democratic Sen. Philip A. Hart, who had announced that he was retiring from the Senate several months before the election and died shortly afterward. A black Democrat, Michigan Secretary of State Richard Austin, had unsuccessfully opposed Riegle in the party primary. In the November election, black voters gave 92 percent of their votes to Riegle, whose LCCR rating while in the House was 8, compared to Esch's 4. About 47 percent of registered black voters turned out, contributing 186,700 votes to Reigle's total—a crucial factor in an election won by a margin of slightly more than 192,000 votes.

Congressional Races

Overall black voter participation in the state's congressional races monitored by the Joint Center was 49 percent of those registered.

☐ DISTRICT 1. This district comprises the northern portion of Detroit as well as the city of Highland Park. Its voting-age population is 64 percent black.

Black Democratic Rep. John Conyers, Jr., faced black Republican Isaac Hood and four third-party candidates. He won re-election with 93 percent of the district vote, and 96 percent of the black votes in his district. Black voter turnout was 51 percent of those registered.

Carter polled 88 percent of black votes in Detroit, with a turnout of 55 percent of registered black voters. Parts of the city of Detroit fall into five other congressional districts.

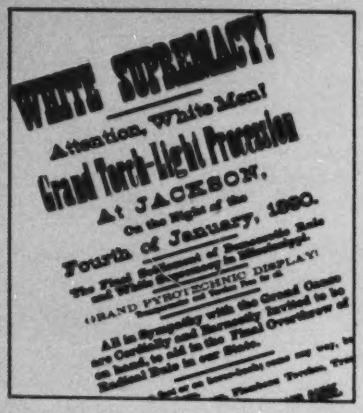
☐ DISTRICT 5. This is former President Ford's home district and includes Grand Rapids. More than 84 percent of the district's black vote went to Carter. Turnout of registered black voters was 54 percent.

Democratic incumbent Rep. Richard Vander Veen, who was first elected to the House in a special election in 1974 to replace Gerald Ford, was defeated by Republican Harold S. Sawyer, Kent County prosecutor. Vander Veen's LCCR rating is 9.

Black voters in the district account for a little more than 4 percent of all eligible voters. More than 88 percent of their votes went to Vander Veen, and a little over half of those eligible voted.

☐ DISTRICT 6. This district, which includes the city of Lansing, has a voting-age population that is 5 percent black. Its black voters gave 86 percent of their votes to Carter, but only 43 percent of black registered voters cast ballots for the presidential election.

Incumbent Democratic Rep. Bob Carr, who was first elected in 1974, defeated Clifford W. Taylor, a



Republican, and two third-party candidates. Carr, whose LCCR rating is 9, won 53 percent of the district vote.

Black voters provided Carr with 88 percent of their votes. Black voter turnout was 42 percent of those registered.

☐ DISTRICT 7. This district, which includes the city of Flint, was formerly represented by Donald Reigle, Michigan's new Senator. The district's black residents account for 12 percent of its voting-age population.

In the race to replace Riegle, Democratic State Sen. Dale Kildee defeated Republican Robin Widgery and three third-party candidates. Kildee won 69 percent of the district vote, including 96 percent of the black vote. Black voter turnout for the House election was 54 percent of those registered.

In the presidential election, Carter polled 94 percent of black votes; 55 percent of those registered went to the polls.

☐ DISTRICT 8. This district which includes part of Saginaw, has a 5 percent black voting-age population. Its black voters gave Carter 94 percent of their votes. Turnout of blacks registered, more than 56 percent, was higher than in any of the six other districts in Michigan examined by the Joint Center. However, black voter turnout in Michigan was one of the lowest in the nation.

Democratic incumbent Rep. Bob Traxler was initially elected to the House when former Rep. James Harvey was tapped for a federal judgeship in 1974. He was re-elected in 1976 with 59 percent of the district vote. Black voters gave 95 percent of their votes to Traxler, who has an LCCR rating of 9. Fifty-five percent of the registered blacks voted.

☐ DISTRICT 13. Part of the city of Detroit falls within this district. Blacks constitute about 59 percent of the voting-age population.

The dean of black members of Congress, Democratic Rep. Charles C. Diggs, Jr., has represented District 13 since 1954. His LCCR rating is 10.

In the November election, Republican Richard Golden, a lawyer, and four third-party candidates challenged Diggs. Diggs won his district with 90 percent of the vote. Black voters gave him 91 percent of their votes, and 47 percent of those registered turned out to vote.

Mississippi

Presidential Race

Mississippi, one of the nation's most rural states, has the nation's largest black population. Blacks comprise about 31 percent of the state's voting-age population.

Carter won Mississippi's seven electoral votes by 11,537 votes. Black voters cast more than 87 percent (122,800) of their votes for him, or more than 10 times his winning margin in the state.

Although the Joint Center's figures show a relatively low black voter turnout of 53 percent, the actual turnout may have been higher. The possible discrepancy is caused by the state's unusual election procedures. In Mississippi, votes are cast for seven individual presidential electors rather than for the presidential candidates themselves. Voters must vote for no less than seven electors or their ballots are disqualified. In the sample black precincts, the Joint Center tabulated only the highest of the seven vote totals. Thus an understatement of turnout is possible, due to disqualified ballots and an incomplete vote count.

Senatorial Race

Incumbent John C. Stennis, a Democrat, was re-elected without opposition. Black voter turnout for this race was 31 percent of those registered. Stennis, who was first elected in 1947, has an LCCR rating of 2.

Congressional Races

☐ DISTRICT 1. This district, located in northern Mississippi, contains Clarksdale and Oxford. Nearly 30 percent of the voting-age population is black.

More than 80 percent of blacks voting in the presidential election gave Carter their votes, and a little more than 48 percent of those registered turned out to vote.

Incumbent Democratic Rep. Jamie L. Whitten, whose LCCR rating is 4, has represented the district since 1940. He was re-elected without opposition.

☐ DISTRICT 4. This district includes the city of Jackson. Blacks of voting-age account for 38 percent of the total voting-age population.

Black voters gave Carter 92 percent of their votes. Turnout of black registered voters was 56 percent for the presidential race.

In the House race, Republican incumbent Thad Cochran faced Sterling P. Davis, a Democrat, and two third-party candidates. Cochran, whose LCCR rating is 2, won 77 percent of the district vote. Black

voters gave 80 percent of their support to Davis. Turnout of black voters for the House race was 38 percent of those registered.

Missouri

Presidential Race

President Carter won Missouri's 12 electoral votes by a margin of 67,510 votes. The Joint Center estimates that Missouri's black voters provided 125,700 votes for Carter—roughly twice the number of votes by which Carter won the state.

In supporting the winner by an overwhelming 91 percent, black voters in Missouri showed a high level of participation; about 73 percent of registered blacks voted in the presidential election. The state's voting-age population is 9 percent black.

Senatorial Race

Missouri also elected a senator to fill the seat of incumbent Democrat Stuart Symington, who retired. Symington, a four-term senator, had an LCCR rating of 9.

The Democratic party's nominee, U. S. Rep. Jerry Litton, was killed in a plane crash. He was replaced on the ballot by Warren E. Hearnes, governor of Missouri from 1965 to 1973. Hearnes lost to Republican John C. Danforth, who took 57 percent of the statewide vote. Independent candidate Lawrence Petty was also on the ballot.

Most black voters (83 percent) supported Hearnes. Black voter turnout for the Senate election was 68 percent of those registered.

Gubernatorial Race

Incumbent Republican Christopher S. Bond, first elected as governor in 1972, lost a close election to Democrat Joseph Teasdale. Both major party candidates got about 50 percent of the vote with Teasdale winning by a tiny 12,209 plurality.

Black voters threw 85 percent of their support to Teasdale. The 112,289 votes which Teasdale polled among black voters was more than nine times his winning margin. Turnout of black registered voters was 69 percent for the gubernatorial election.

Congressional Races

In the two House races monitored by the Joint Center, overall black voter turnout was 74 percent of those registered.

☐ DISTRICT 1. This district covers the northern section of the city of St. Louis. It has a voting-age population that is 48 percent black.

William Clay, a black Democrat was first elected from the district in 1968. Clay, whose LCCR rating is 9, faced Republican Robert L. Witherspoon and was re-elected with 65 percent of the district vote. Blacks cast 93 percent of their votes for Clay and 75 percent of registered blacks turned out to vote.

In the presidential race, district blacks gave Carter more than 91 percent of their votes. Black voter turnout was 73 percent of those registered.

☐ DISTRICT 5. This district, which includes most of Kansas City, has been represented since 1948 by Democratic Rep. Richard Bolling. In 1976 he defeated challengers Joanne Collins, a black Republican councilwoman and William F. Moore, an independent. Bolling won 71 percent of the district vote.

Black voters comprise about one-fifth of the total voting-age population. Bolling, whose LCCR rating is 10, got 82 percent of all black votes in the congressional election. Black voter turnout was 69 percent of those registered.

In the presidential election, more than 92 percent of black voters chose Carter. Black voter turnout was greater than 71 percent of those registered.

New Jersey

Presidential Race

Former President Ford won New Jersey's 17 electoral votes by a 57,190-vote margin. More than 87 percent (186,993) of black New Jersey voters cast their ballots for Carter and over 63 percent of all registered blacks turned out to vote.

Senatorial Race

Incumbent Democratic Sen. Harrison Williams, who has a LCCR rating of 10, was re-elected with 62 percent of the statewide vote. Williams, first elected to the Senate in 1958, garnered 88 percent of black votes. Black voter turnout for the Senate race was 57 percent of those registered.

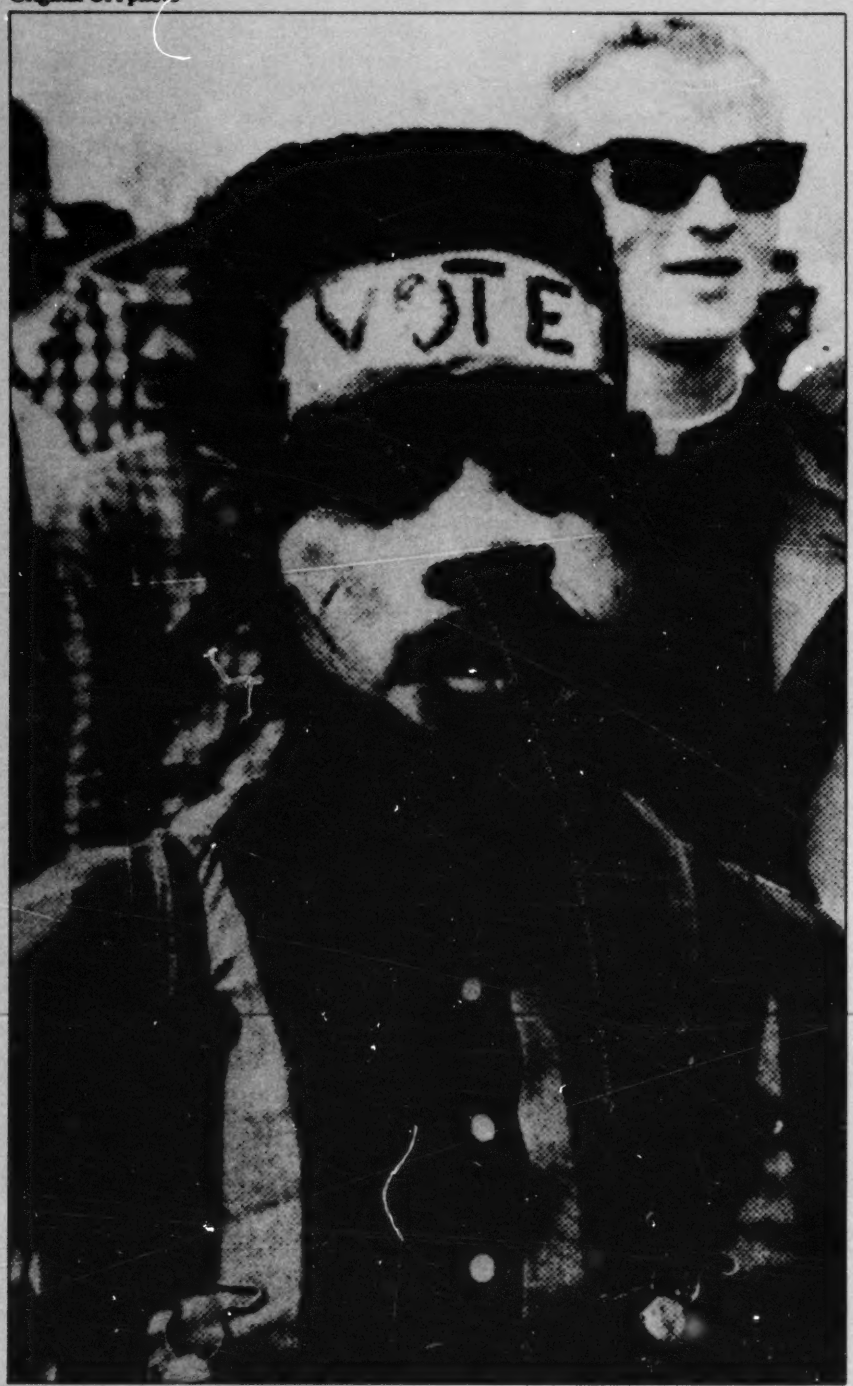
New Jersey's black voting-age population is about 11 percent of the total.

Congressional Races

Fifty-five percent of the registered black voters turned out for the two congressional races monitored by the Joint Center.

☐ DISTRICT 10. In a 1972 redistricting effort, all of Newark was included in this district. Prior

Frank Calhoun of Meridian Miss. at Selma Voting Rights March, 1965.
Photo appeared in *Ebony* Mag. & other sources.
Original UPI phot



to that time, Newark had been divided into several congressional districts. The voting-age population of the district is 46 percent black.

Despite an abundance of black political leadership in New Jersey, such as East Orange Mayor William Hart and former state legislator George Richardson, liberal Democratic Rep. Peter W. Rodino won the primary and the subsequent general election. Rodino, first elected to the House in 1948, has a LCCR rating of 9.

The district returned Rodino to the House with 84 percent of the vote. He faced black Republican Tony Grandison, Labor Party candidate Charles Mack, Libertarian Party candidate Kathleen McAdam, and Socialist Workers Party candidate Lawrence Stewart in the general election.

Eighty-seven percent of the black voters provided Rodino with 41,447 votes, over half of his winning margin of 72,884 votes. Fifty-five percent of registered blacks voted in the House race.

Carter gained 87 percent of the black votes and 63 percent of registered blacks participated. In 1972, McGovern won 86 percent of the black votes in Newark.

☐ DISTRICT 14. This district, which includes Jersey City, has been represented in the House by Dominick Daniels since 1958. Daniels, who had a LCCR rating of 9, opted for retirement this year. Subsequently, State Rep. Joseph LeFante, a Democrat, Anthony Campenni, a Republican, and five minor-party candidates sought the vacated seat.

LeFante won the race with 52 percent of the district vote. His narrow winning margin of 6,865 votes was less than the number of votes (10,721) he got from his black constituency. Turnout of black registered voters for the congressional race was 62 percent and 83 percent of those blacks voting chose LeFante.

Carter received an overwhelming 91 percent of all black votes. Black voter turnout was also a high 71 percent.

Blacks in the district comprise approximately 10 percent of the total voting-age population.

New York

Presidential Race

About 13 percent of New York's voting-age population is black.

Carter won New York's 41 electoral votes by a margin of 275,970. By Joint Center estimates, black votes for Carter (610,015) exceeded his winning margin. Approximately 90 percent of all black voters chose Carter and 69 percent of registered blacks turned out to vote.

Senatorial Race

The Senate race in New York attracted a good deal of attention. The election of Republican Conservative James L. Buckley in 1970 attests to the strength of conservative voters in New York state. Incumbent Buckley was challenged by Democrat Daniel P. Moynihan who defeated four opponents in the Democratic primary. Former U. S. Rep. Bella Abzug, former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, Paul O'Dwyer, and Abraham Hirschfeld all vied unsuccessfully for the Democratic nomination. Moynihan won the general election with 55 percent of the statewide vote.

Moynihan has long been the object of controversy among blacks. There were predictions before the election that black voters would not support him. However, with Buckley's LCCR rating of 1, black voters in New York evidently decided the time had come for a change. Moynihan garnered 80 percent (474,143) of the black vote, well over half of his winning margin. Turnout of registered blacks for the Senate race was 60 percent.

Congressional Races

Black voting potential in New York is reflected in its 171 black elected officials and in the fact that New York boasts two black members in the House of Representatives.

☐ DISTRICT 12. This district has been represented since 1968 by black Democratic Rep. Shirley Chisholm of Brooklyn. Chisholm, who has a 10 LCCR rating, was the first black woman elected to Congress, and in 1972 campaigned for the Democratic presidential nomination. Although she did not win nomination, her candidacy called attention to the plight of the poor and of women.

District 12 has a black voting-age population that accounts for about 51 percent of the total. In the Democratic primary, Chisholm was unsuccessfully challenged by Samuel Wright, a black Brooklyn city councilman. In the subsequent general election, Chisholm defeated black Republican Horace Morancie and Conservative Martin Shepherd. Chisholm garnered 86 percent of the District votes.

New York City's boroughs are divided among several congressional districts, including District 12. In 1976, New York City blacks gave Carter 90 percent of their votes and 68 percent of those blacks registered went to the polls.

☐ DISTRICT 19. This district, which takes in much of Harlem, was represented by Adam Clayton Powell from 1944 until 1970, when Charles B. Rangel, a black former state legislator, defeated him in the Democratic primary.

Population decline in Harlem resulted in a redistricting in 1972 which enlarged District 19. The district now has a black voting-age population which is about 58 percent of the total.

Rangel was re-elected to the House without Republican opposition in the November election. He did, however, have opposition from a Conservative Party candidate and from a Workers Party candidate. Ninety-four percent of district votes went to Rangel, whose LCCR rating is a 10.

☐ DISTRICT 37. This district takes in most of the city of Buffalo, where Carter received 89 percent of all black votes. Turnout of black registered voters for the presidential race was a high 76 percent in the district. Seventeen percent of the voting-age population is black.

Incumbent Democratic Rep. Henry Nowak, initially elected in 1974, defeated black Republican Calvin Kimbrough and Conservative Stephen Grimm, taking 78 percent of the district vote.

Nowak, whose LCCR rating is 10, received 84 percent of all black votes in an election which attracted 56 percent of registered black voters.

North Carolina

Presidential Race

When Carter won the March 23 primary, political observers predicted a good year for North Carolina Democrats. Their predictions were realized when Carter captured North Carolina's 13 electoral votes. His winning margin of 184,508 votes was less than the 204,782 votes he received from blacks in the presidential election. About 93 percent of blacks voting chose Carter. Turnout among registered black voters was 56 percent. Blacks are about 19 percent of the voting-age population in North Carolina.

Gubernatorial Race

North Carolina also elected a governor in 1976. Incumbent Republican James Holshouser, first elected in 1972, was ineligible for a second term. In 1972, Holshouser defeated Democrat Hargrove Bowles, a candidate who polled 96 percent of statewide black votes.

In 1976, Lieut. Gov. James Hunt, a Democrat, defeated former state administrator David T. Flaherty, a Republican, and two third-party candidates. James Hunt won the election with 65 percent of the vote.

Other Statewide Races

Black aspirations, as well as Democratic aspirations were high this election year. The number of black elected officials in North Carolina went from 194 to 218. In addition, two well-known black politicians entered races for state offices.

Howard Lee, who had served three terms as mayor of Chapel Hill, faced seven other Democrats in the August 17 primary to choose the party's nominee for lieutenant governor. Although he led the primary voting, he did not obtain a majority and was forced into a runoff with James C. Green, speaker of the state House of Representatives. In the runoff, which attracted only 29 percent of all voters, Lee was defeated, obtaining 46 percent of the vote. A member of the Democratic National Committee, Lee had made an earlier bid for higher office in 1972, when he ran unsuccessfully against L. H. Fountain in the Democratic primary for the District 2 seat in Congress.

The second black candidate to seek statewide office was Asa P. Spaulding, Jr., a Republican who opposed incumbent Democrat Thad Eure and a third-party candidate in the race for secretary of state. Spaulding is a 42 year old insurance executive from Durham, North Carolina, and the first black to win a major party primary for a statewide office in the South since Reconstruction. In the general election 67 percent of all voters went for the incumbent, as did 78 percent of black voters. This election, which marked Spaulding's first attempt at elective office, drew a 46 percent black voter turnout.

Congressional Races

Black voter turnout for the seven congressional races sampled by the Joint Center was 53 percent of those registered.

☐ DISTRICT 1. This district, located in the eastern part of the state is predominately rural, although it includes the small city of Greenville. Nearly one person of voting-age out of three (31 percent) is black.

Black voters in Greenville gave about 88 percent of their votes to Carter. Turnout of registered black voters for the presidential election was 53 percent.

Incumbent Rep. Walter B. Jones, a Democrat first elected in 1966, has an LCCR rating of 2. He was opposed by Joseph Ward, a Republican and Michael Parker, the American Party candidate. Jones won 77 percent of the district vote. Black voters, 53 percent of whom turned out for the congressional election, gave 93 percent of their votes to Jones.

☐ DISTRICT 2. This district includes the cities of Rocky Mount and Chapel Hill. Blacks number 34 percent of the voting-age population.

L. H. Fountain, a conservative Democrat with an LCCR rating of 1, has held the district's seat in Congress since 1952. He has been unsuccessfully challenged twice by black political aspirants—in 1968 by Eva Clayton and in 1972 by Howard Lee. In 1976, Fountain did not face Republican opposition.

Black voters gave Carter 98 percent of their votes and black voter turnout was 64 percent of those registered.

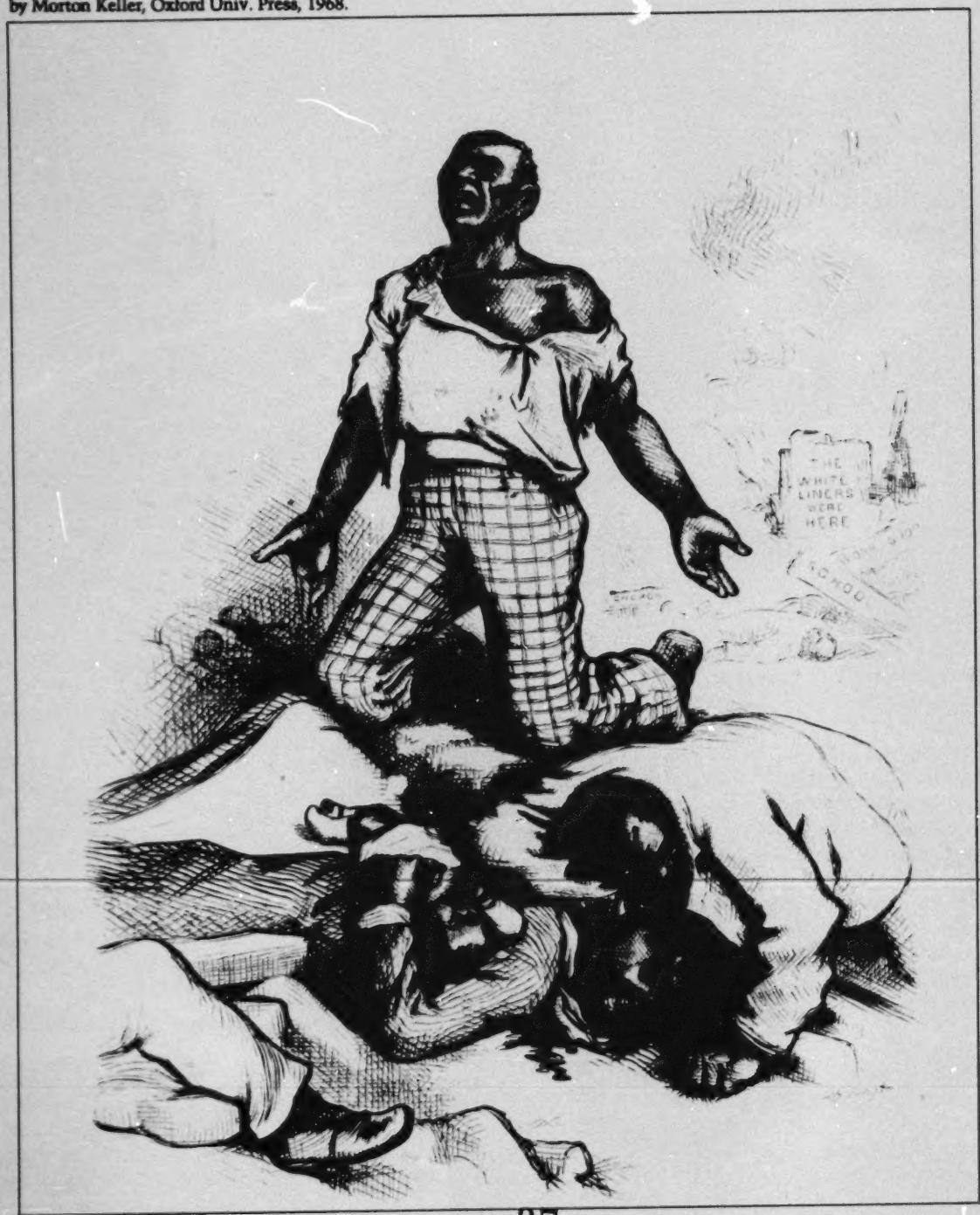
☐ DISTRICT 3. This district, taking in the city of Goldsboro, has a voting-age population that is 23 percent black. Democrat David N. Henderson represented it from 1960 until 1976, when he retired. He had

Thomas Nast cartoon from *Harper's Weekly*, Sept. 2, 1876.

Nast continued his attack on violent repression of Negroes in South. "A Massacre of Negro Militiamen in Hamburg, So. Carolina, allowed him once again to evoke for his audience the spectre of a violent, unregenerate – and Democratic – White South."

Used as pro-Republican campaign propaganda.

Quote from: Art & Politics of Thomas Nast, by Morton Keller, Oxford Univ. Press, 1968.



an LCCR rating of 1.

Democrat Charles Whitley defeated former State Rep. W. J. Blanchard, a Republican, for Henderson's seat, winning 68 percent of the district vote. Black voters also supported Whitley with 84 percent of their votes. Black voter turnout was 53 percent of those registered.

In presidential balloting, 72 percent of black votes went to Carter and black voter turnout was 56 percent of those registered.

☐ DISTRICT 4. This district, in the central portion of the state, includes the capital city of Raleigh, as well as the liberal community surrounding North Carolina State University, Duke University, and the Research Triangle between Raleigh and Durham.

Blacks, who comprise 21 percent of the district's voting-age population, are politically sophisticated and have organized the Durham Committee on the Affairs of Black People, an organization which has provided political leadership for many years.

Incumbent Democratic Rep. Ike Andrews, first elected in 1972, easily defeated Republican Johnnie L. Gallemore in the general election with 63 percent of the district vote. Andrews has an LCCR rating of 4.

Joint Center estimates show that 98 percent of blacks participating in the congressional election supported Andrews. Black voter turnout for the congressional election was 51 percent of those registered.

Carter garnered 97 percent of the black vote, with a turnout of registered black voters of 57 percent. In the 1972 presidential election, 91 percent of black voters in the district chose McGovern.

☐ DISTRICT 6. This district, in central North Carolina, includes Greensboro. The black voting-age population is about 19 percent of the total.

Carter took more than 95 percent of the black vote in the district, with 54 percent of registered blacks turning out to vote.

Democratic incumbent Rep. Richardson Preyer, first elected in 1968, was re-elected with 96 percent of the district vote. No Republican candidate ran against Preyer, but Labor candidate Marion Porter and Libertarian candidate Carl Wagle, vied for the seat.

Almost all black votes (more than 99 percent) went to Preyer, whose LCCR rating is 6. Turnout of registered black voters for the congressional race was 49 percent.

☐ DISTRICT 7. This district contains Fayetteville, and has a black voting-age population numbering 23 percent of the total.

Black voters in Fayetteville gave Carter 96 percent of their votes and 63 percent of registered black voters participated in the presidential election.

Turnout of registered black voters for the congressional election was a little less, 62 percent. Democratic incumbent, Rep. Charles Rose defeated Republican M. H. Vaughan with 81 percent of the votes. Black voters gave Rose, whose LCCR rating is 5, practically all (99 percent) of their votes.

☐ DISTRICT 9. This district, which includes Charlotte, has a 19 percent black voting-age population.

Black voters gave Carter 96 percent of their votes, and 54 percent of those registered turned out to vote. In 1968, black voters in the district gave 97 percent of their votes to Hubert H. Humphrey, but with a stronger turnout of 66 percent.

In the House race, incumbent Republican Rep. James Martin, first elected in 1972, defeated Democrat Arthur Goodman, and Harley Schlanger, the Labor Party candidate. Martin, whose LCCR rating is 1, won 54 percent of the district vote.

Blacks supported Goodman with more than 94 percent of their votes. Turnout of registered black voters for the congressional election was 50 percent.

Ohio

Presidential Race

Black voters in Ohio constitute 9 percent of all voters. Evidence of their political potential exists in the number of blacks who hold elective office, about 148.

Ohio, an urbanized state with 936 municipalities, gave 25 electoral votes to Carter. Carter's narrow winning margin of approximately 7,600 votes was far less than the 243,300 black votes he polled. Carter took 80 percent of the state's black votes.

President Ford was less popular among blacks in Ohio than third-party candidate Eugene McCarthy, who garnered about 13 percent of the total black vote. Black voter turnout for the presidential election was over 75 percent of those registered.

Senatorial Race

Ohio's Senate race commanded a share of this year's political limelight. Two well-known politicians, incumbent Republican Sen. Robert Taft, Jr., and Democrat Howard Metzenbaum competed with four

minor-party candidates. This was a rematch of the 1970 election, when Taft defeated Metzenbaum, with a slim 51 percent of the statewide vote. This time Metzenbaum turned the tables, ousting Taft with the same proportion of the vote—51 percent. Metzenbaum's winning margin of 118,405 votes was less than the estimated 193,250 black votes he received. Approximately 81 percent of all black votes went to Metzenbaum, and 9 percent to Taft, whose LCCR rating was 4.

Congressional Races

In the six congressional elections monitored by the Joint Center, overall black voter turnout was 63 percent of those registered.

☐ DISTRICT 1. This district, which includes part of the city of Cincinnati, has a voting-age population that is 18 percent black. Black candidates have twice unsuccessfully sought to represent the district in Congress in recent years. In the 1970 House race, Democrat Bailey Turner, a black political newcomer, was defeated by Republican William J. Keating, who served until 1974. In that year, Republican Willis Gradison replaced Keating, getting about 11 percent of the black votes in the district.

Black Democratic state senator William Bowen and a third-party candidate opposed Gradison in the 1976 race. Gradison, whose LCCR rating is 3, won 66 percent of the district vote. Black voters gave over 90 percent of their votes to Bowen, and the turnout of black registered voters was 67 percent.

In the presidential election, blacks in the Cincinnati area gave Carter 83 percent of their votes, and more than 77 percent turned out to vote.

☐ DISTRICT 2. This district contains the remainder of Cincinnati. The division of the city into two congressional districts has been a concern to Democrats in Ohio, who would like to see lines redrawn so that the central city falls into one district. This district, which contains almost half of the city, has a black voting-age population which is 10 percent of the total.

In the House race, incumbent Republican Rep. Donald Clancy was ousted by Democrat Thomas A. Luken. Clancy, first elected in 1960, lost the district by 4,658 votes. His LCCR rating was 0.

Luken, who won 51 percent of district votes, served in the House of Representatives from 1974 to 1975. Blacks gave Luken 92 percent of their votes (9,900) which was more than his winning margin. Black voter turnout in the congressional election was 60 percent.

☐ DISTRICT 3. This district takes in the city of Dayton and has a black voting-age population equal to 15 percent of the total.

Blacks in the district gave more than 89 percent of their votes to Carter, and over 76 percent of all registered blacks turned out to vote.

Liberal Republican Rep. Charles W. Whalen, whose LCCR rating is a 10, defeated conservative Democrat Leonard Stubbs. Whalen, initially elected in 1966, polled 75 percent of the district vote.

Although turnout of registered black voters for the House race was only 53 percent, 49 percent of the black votes went to Whalen. Two third-party candidates together garnered an unusual 8 percent of the black vote in the congressional election.

☐ DISTRICT 12. This district includes part of the city of Columbus which falls into two congressional districts, the Twelfth and the Fifteenth. Incumbent Republican Rep. Samuel Devine has represented District 12 in the House since 1958.

Democrat Francine Ryan opposed Devine in 1974 and lost. The 1976 congressional race was a virtual rematch, with the addition of black Independent William Moss. Devine, whose LCCR rating is 0, won the election with 46 percent of the district vote.

Black voters divided most of their support between Ryan (65 percent) and Moss (28 percent). Black voter turnout for the House race was 74 percent of those registered. Black voters comprise a little less than 10 percent of the voting-age population.

In Columbus, in the 12th and 15th Districts combined, Carter captured 86 percent of black votes. Black voter turnout of those registered was 72 percent.

☐ DISTRICT 15. Blacks comprise more than 11 percent of the voting-age population in this district.

Incumbent Republican Rep. Chalmers Wylie, initially elected in 1966, won 65 percent of the district vote in his race against Democrat Mike McGee. Wylie, whose LCCR rating is 4, has faced McGee in three previous House races.

Black voters supported McGee

with 75 percent of their votes. Black voter turnout of those registered was 50 percent.

☐ DISTRICT 21. This district contains part of Ohio's largest city, Cleveland. Incumbent Democrat Louis Stokes, brother of former Cleveland Mayor Carl Stokes, was initially elected to the House in 1968 following redistricting which increased the percentage of black voters in this district. Blacks constitute 60 percent of the total voting-age population.

Stokes has an LCCR rating of 10. He was opposed by black Republican Barbara Sparks and Anthony R. Curry, the Labor Party candidate. Stokes was re-elected with 88 percent of the district vote. Blacks supported Stokes with almost 91 percent of their votes. Black voter turnout in the congressional election was 65 percent.

Black voters in Cleveland supported Carter with 78 percent of their votes. Black voter turnout was 75 percent for the presidential election, in which blacks gave third-party candidates a high 15 percent of the total black vote.

Pennsylvania

Presidential Race

Carter captured Pennsylvania's 27 electoral votes with a winning margin of 128,456 votes. The Joint Center estimates that black voters in Pennsylvania gave Carter 256,800 votes which exceeded his margin of victory. More than 87 percent of all black voters chose Carter and more than 70 percent of those registered voted in the presidential election. Blacks of voting age constitute 8 percent of the state total.

Senatorial Race

Republican Rep. John Heinz III, who was elected to the House in 1971 from the Eighteenth District and has a LCCR rating of 10, defeated Democratic Rep. William Green in the November Senate election.

Green, whose LCCR rating is also a 10, was initially elected to the House from District 3 in 1964. In 1971 Green entered the Democratic primary election as a mayoral candidate unsuccessfully opposing Frank Rizzo, the current mayor.

About 53 percent of the statewide vote went to Heinz. Black voters gave him 18 percent of their votes, and 68 percent of those registered turned out to vote in the Senate election.

Congressional Races

In the four congressional races sampled by the Joint Center, overall black voter turnout was 65 percent of those registered.

☐ DISTRICT 1. This district, which includes part of the city of Philadelphia, has a 35 percent black voting-age population. In the 1976 House race, the Democratic party named Michael Myers as candidate following the death of Rep. William Barrett. Barrett, initially elected in 1948, died during the election period. Myers easily defeated Republican Samuel Fanelli and two minor-party candidates, obtaining 74 percent of the district vote. Myers, a former state legislator, won 86 percent of the black vote. Black voter turnout was 64 percent.

Black voters in Philadelphia gave Carter 87 percent of their votes and turnout of registered black voters was over 70 percent. During the 1972 presidential election, McGovern polled 89 percent of the black vote in Philadelphia.

☐ DISTRICT 2. This district has been represented by black Congressman Robert Nix since 1958. The district includes part of the city of Philadelphia.

A challenge to Nix's incumbency occurred first in the Democratic primary when William Gray, a black Baptist minister, lost by a slim margin. In the general election, black Republican Jesse Woods, who had also run against Nix in 1974, joined three minor-party candidates in the race against Nix. Nix, whose LCCR rating is 9, won re-election with 74 percent of the district vote. Of registered blacks, 67 percent voted and 81 percent voted for Nix.

☐ DISTRICT 3. This House seat, vacated by William Green who ran for the Senate and lost, was won by Democrat Raymond Lederer, who gamered 73 percent of the district vote.

Lederer was opposed by Republican Terrance Schade and Labor Party candidate Steven Douglas. Lederer, a former state legislator, was supported by Mayor Frank Rizzo of Philadelphia. Blacks supported Lederer with 89 percent of their votes. Fifty-nine percent of those blacks registered voted in the congressional election.

Blacks comprise 24 percent of the voting-age population in the district.

☐ DISTRICT 14. This district takes

in most of the city of Pittsburgh. Democratic incumbent William Moorhead, who was first elected in 1958, faced Republican John Bradley and two minor-party candidates for the House seat.

Moorhead, who has a LCCR rating of 10, won 74 percent of the district vote. He also received 91 percent of the black vote. The race attracted a turnout of 68 percent of registered black voters.

Black voters in Pittsburgh also gave strong support to Carter, over 89 percent of their votes. Turnout of registered black voters for the presidential election was a high 71 percent.

The district has a black voting-age population which is 19 percent of the total.

South Carolina

Presidential Race

South Carolina's eight electoral votes went to Carter, whose winning margin of 101,492 was less than the 166,907 votes he got from blacks. More than 90 percent of all black votes went to Carter in an election where turnout of registered black voters was 65 percent. Blacks constitute 26 percent of South Carolina's voting-age population.

Black voter turnout for all four congressional contests monitored by the Joint Center was 60 percent of those registered.

Despite black political potential in South Carolina, blacks have not been very successful in gaining political office or in helping to elect candidates who support their interests. For example, none of the representatives to the 94th Congress had an LCCR rating higher than 6; Sen. Strom Thurmond's rating is 0 while that of Sen. Ernest Hollings is 4. In addition, South Carolina has the second highest proportion of blacks of any state, yet ranks thirteenth among states in the number of black elected officials.

Congressional Races

☐ DISTRICT 1. This district, which includes Charleston, has a black voting-age population which is 29 percent of the total.

Winning re-election was Democratic Rep. Mendel Davis, godson of L. Mendel Rivers, who represented the district until his death in 1970. Davis, initially elected in 1971, has an LCCR rating of 6. Davis won re-election with 69 percent of the district vote and 90 percent of the black vote. Voter turnout of black registered voters was 52 percent.

Black voters in this district gave Carter over 84 percent of their votes. Turnout of registered black voters for the presidential election was 59 percent.

☐ DISTRICT 2. This district, which includes Columbia, has a black voting-age population of 30 percent of the total.

Clyde Livingston was the Democratic candidate in the 1976 House race. Livingston and John O'Neal, an independent candidate, faced incumbent Republican Floyd Spence in the November election. Spence, the representative since 1970, was re-elected with 57 percent of the district vote. He polled 6 percent of the black vote and has a LCCR rating of 2. Sixty-two percent of the black registered voters went to the polls.

Over 95 percent of black voters cast their ballots for Carter and 66 percent of those registered participated in the presidential election. In 1972, McGovern polled 94 percent of the black votes in the district.

☐ DISTRICT 5. This district, in central South Carolina, includes Sumter and Fairfield counties. Blacks constitute 27 percent of the total voting-age population.

Incumbent Democrat Kenneth Holland was initially elected in 1974 when he polled 62 percent of the district vote and 93 percent of the black vote in a race against B. Len Phillips, a Republican.

In November 1976, Holland was challenged by Republican Robert Richardson and Independent Party candidate Harold Hough. Holland won 52 percent of the district vote and 90 percent of the black vote. Holland's margin of victory, about 4,370 votes, was smaller than the number of black votes he received—about 26,400. Black voter turnout for the congressional election was 69 percent of those registered. Holland's LCCR rating is 5.

In the presidential election, black voters gave Carter more than 92 percent of their votes.

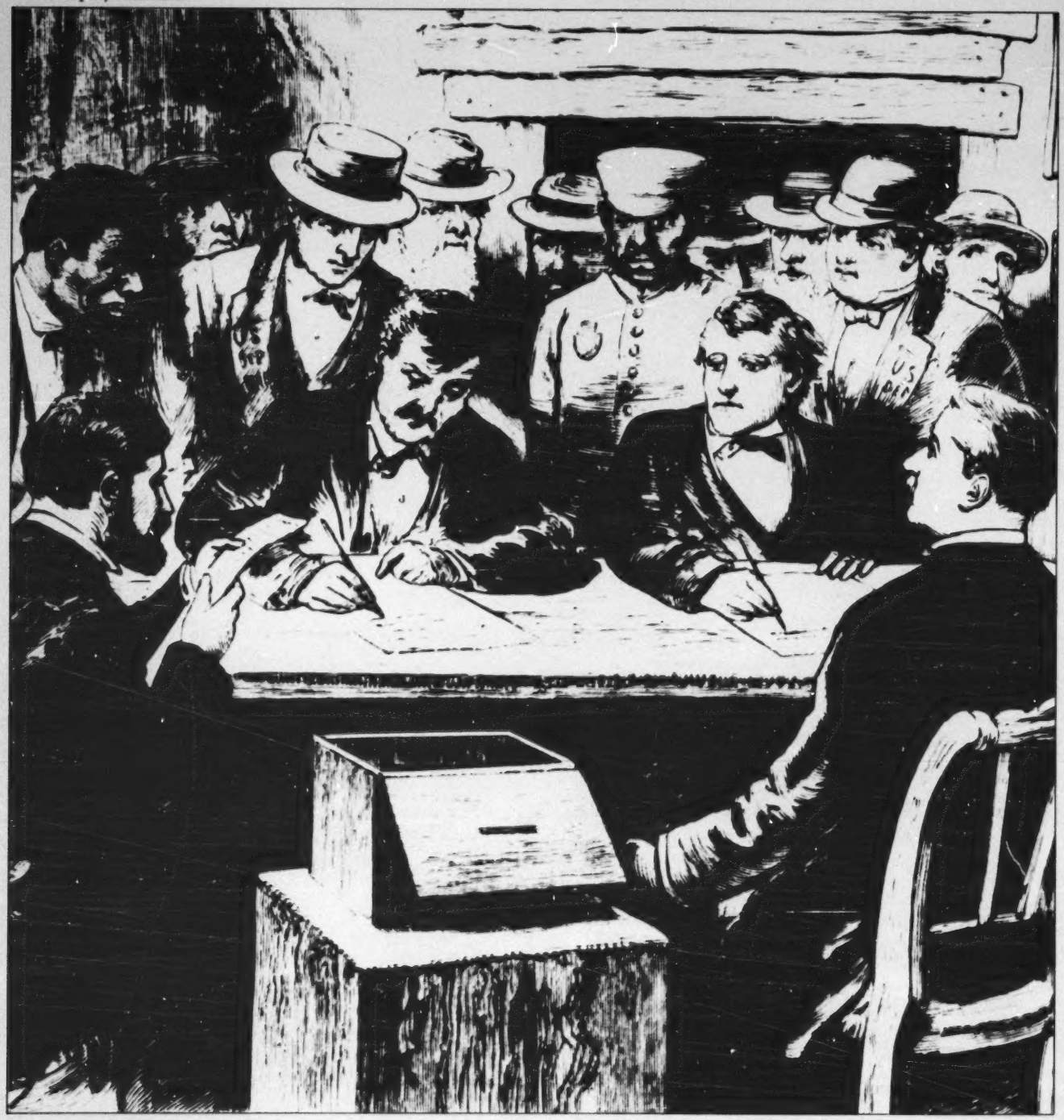
Turnout of registered black voters was 71 percent of the total.

☐ DISTRICT 6. This district has a black voting-age population of 36 percent and includes Florence and Georgetown counties.

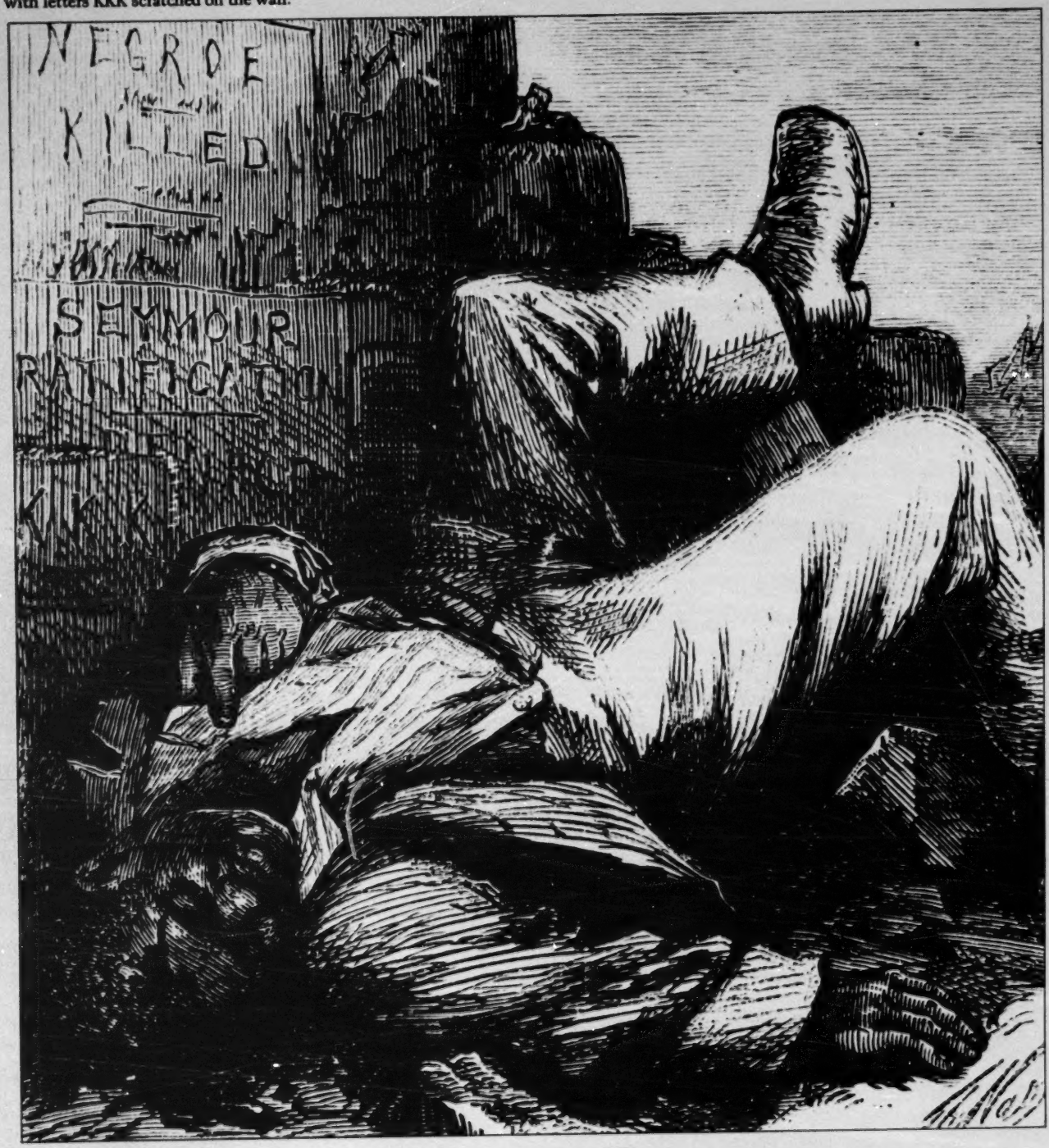
In 1972, John Jenrette won the Democratic nomination, but lost the November election to Republican Edward Young. In 1974 Jenrette challenged Young in the congressional election and won with 52 percent of the district vote. Blacks in his district gave him 97 percent of their votes.

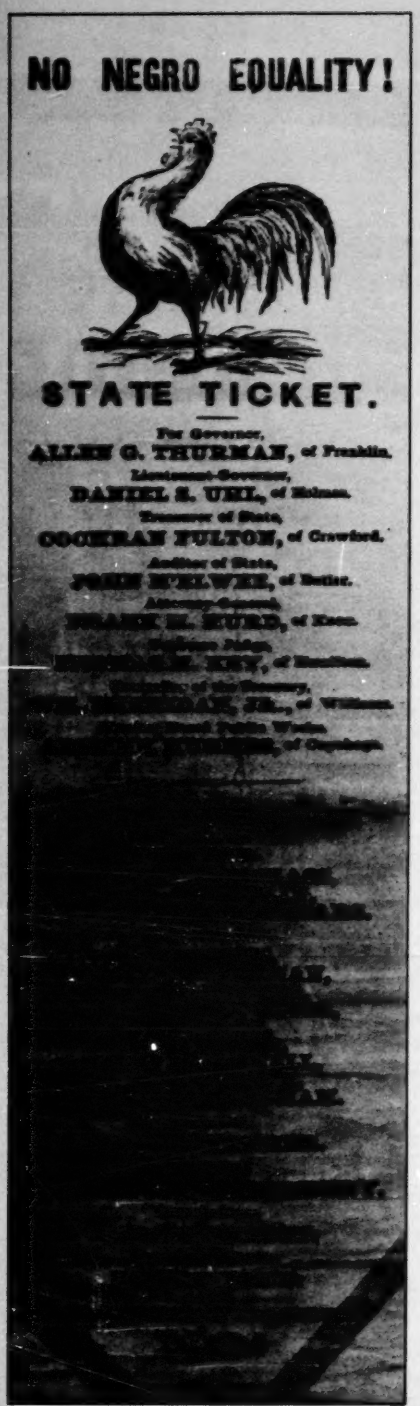
"Counting the Vote at 'Elephant Johnnie's' " drawn by S. W. Bennett in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* Dec. 2, 1876.

Last federally-supervised election in the South under Reconstruction Act of 1867. Negro & White poll watchers wearing badges of U. S. deputy marshalls.



"One Vote Less," drawn by Thomas Nast, depicts a murdered Negro in Richmond, Va, with letters KKK scratched on the wall.





In November 1976, Young and Jenrette faced each other again. They were joined by Clarence Dillingham, an independent candidate. Jenrette won 56 percent of the district vote. His winning margin of 15,182 was smaller than the number of black votes he received (approximately 32,300). Approximately 97 percent of all blacks voting in the election chose Jenrette. Turnout of registered black voters was 67 percent of those registered. Jenrette has an LCCR rating of 5.

In the presidential election, Carter took about 91 percent of the black vote in the district and the turnout of registered blacks was about 69 percent.

District 6 includes Florence and Georgetown counties.

Tennessee

Presidential Race

Carter was a big winner in Tennessee. He won Tennessee's 10 electoral votes by a margin of 188,863 votes. Carter polled more than 92 percent of all black votes, resulting in about 139,000 votes. Black voter turnout for the presidential election was 66 percent of those registered. Blacks comprise 14 percent of the voting-age population in the state.

Senatorial Race

Tennessee's voters chose a senator as well as House members in 1976. Incumbent Republican Sen. William Brock has a LCCR rating of 2. He was opposed by Democrat James Sasser, black independent Will C. Jacox, and two other minor-party candidates in the 1976 Senate race. Sasser won with about 53 percent of the statewide vote and the help of strong black support. He received 93 percent of all black votes, numbering approximately 140,400, which was more than his 81,173 vote margin. About 61 percent of registered blacks participated in the election.

Congressional Races

Black voter participation in the three House races monitored by the Joint Center was 63 percent of those registered.

☐ DISTRICT 3. This district, which includes the city of Chattanooga, is 10 percent black in voting-age population. When William Brock vacated the district's House seat in 1970 to run successfully for the Senate, La Mar Baker was elected and served until 1974. In that year, Democrat Marilyn Lloyd challenged Baker and won 52 percent of the district vote.

In 1976, Lloyd was challenged by Baker for his old seat. In addition, two minor-party candidates entered the House race. Lloyd was re-elected with 68 percent of the district vote.

Black voters also supported Lloyd, who earned a LCCR rating of 5. Over 96 percent of their votes went to her, and 49 percent of registered blacks turned out to vote.

In the presidential election, Carter received about 95 percent of the black vote, with 48 percent of registered blacks turning out to vote.

☐ DISTRICT 5. This district, which includes the consolidated Nashville-Davidson County area, has a black voting-age population that is 18 percent of the total.

Democratic incumbent Rep. Clifford Allen, elected in 1975, did not face Republican opposition in his bid for re-election to the House.

He was, however, opposed by Roger Bissell, an independent. Allen won 92 percent of the district vote, and more than 99 percent of the black votes in the district. Black voter turnout was about 54 percent of the registered voters.

Because Allen was elected in a special election November 1975, he was not in the House for votes on nine of the ten civil rights issues on which the LCCR rating is based. He did, however, vote "no" on the emergency jobs appropriations amendment to cut funds in half. Accordingly, he earned an LCCR rating of 1 on the only vote for which he was a House member.

Fifth District black voters gave 93 percent of their votes to Carter. Turnout of black voters for the presidential election was 64 percent of those registered. In 1972, black voters in Nashville gave McGovern 85 percent of their votes.

☐ DISTRICT 8. This district, which includes the city of Memphis, elected Rep. Harold Ford, a black Democrat, in 1974. Ford challenged Republican Dan Kuykendall and won the district by a narrow margin, although the district's black voters gave Ford 94 percent of their votes that year.

In 1976, Ford, whose LCCR rating is 9, was challenged by Republican A. D. Alissandratos and Mark Flannagan, an independent candidate. Rep. Ford won the district with 61 percent of the votes.

Black voters gave Rep. Ford 96 percent of their support, and 66 percent of registered black voters participated in the congressional election.

In the presidential election, blacks gave 92 percent of their votes to Carter. Approximately 68 percent of them turned out to vote.

The black voting-age population in the district comprises 41 percent of the total.

Texas

Presidential Race

Carter won Texas with its 26 electoral votes by a margin of 155,246 votes. The Joint Center estimates that 97 percent of all black voters in Texas chose Carter, giving him a total of 259,200 black votes. Turnout of those blacks registered was a little over 48 percent. Blacks in Texas comprise 12 percent of all those old enough to vote.

Senatorial Race

Democratic incumbent Lloyd Bentsen was challenged by Alan Steelman, a Republican; Marjorie Gallion, the American Party candidate; and Pedro Vasquez, the Socialist Workers candidate. Bentsen, who began the campaign year by throwing his hat in the presidential ring, polled about 57 percent of the statewide vote. Bentsen has been in the Senate since 1970.

Black voters supported Bentsen, whose LCCR rating is 8, with approximately 97 percent of their vote. Turnout of registered black voters was 45 percent.

Congressional Races

Forty-five percent of all black registered voters participated in the six congressional races monitored by the Joint Center.

☐ DISTRICT 2. This district has a black-voting age population which is 18 percent of the total and is located in eastern Texas.

Democrat Charles Wilson has represented the district in the House since 1972. He was re-elected in 1974 and in 1976 without Republican opposition. Wilson's LCCR rating is 5.

Wilson was challenged by James W. Doyle, an American Independent candidate who did not poll any black votes in the Joint Center's sample area. Turnout of black voters for the congressional race was 53 percent of those registered.

In the presidential election, black voters in District 2 gave Carter 98 percent of their votes. Turnout of registered blacks was 53 percent.

☐ DISTRICT 5. This district, which includes part of the city of Dallas, was represented in the House by Republican Alan Steelman for two terms until he became a Senate candidate in 1976. Steelman's LCCR rating was 3 for the 94th Congress.

The 1976 candidates for the House seat were Democrat Jim Mattox, Republican Nancy Judy, and American Party candidate Sam McDonnell. Mattox won 55 percent of the district vote. Black voter turnout for the congressional election was 42 percent of those registered; 97 percent of all black voters chose Mattox. Mattox polled more votes (12,827) among blacks than his winning margin of 11,946.

The Democratic presidential candidate did almost as well in Dallas. Ninety-six percent of black

voters, chose Carter. Turnout of registered black voters was 45 percent. District 5 has a black voting-age population which is 19 percent of the total.

☐ DISTRICT 9. This district includes the city of Beaumont and has a black voting-age population comprising 20 percent of the total. Incumbent Jack Brooks, initially elected to the House in 1952, was re-elected without opposition.

Black voter turnout for the congressional election was 56 percent of all registered blacks.

In the presidential election, black voter turnout of those registered was 57 percent, and 98 percent of all black voters chose Carter.

☐ DISTRICT 12. This district takes in most of the city of Fort Worth. Rep. James C. Wright, a Democrat, has represented the district since 1954. Wright, whose LCCR rating is 7, was challenged by W. R. Durham, a Republican, and Larry Kutchinski, the American Party candidate. Wright won re-election with 74 percent of the district vote, and went on to become House majority leader in the 95th Congress.

Black voters supported Wright, who polled 98 percent of their votes. Black voter turnout for the congressional race was 42 percent of those registered.

Blacks comprise 14 percent of all of those old enough to vote.

In the presidential election, Carter polled 97 percent of the black votes in Fort Worth, and about 59 percent of those registered turned out to vote.

☐ DISTRICT 18. This district, which is black Rep. Barbara Jordan's home district, gave 98 percent of the black vote to Carter, while 48 percent of registered blacks turned out to vote in the presidential election. Part of the city of Houston is included in District 18.

In 1972, McGovern polled 93 percent of the black vote in District 18.

Jordan, initially elected to the House in 1972, was challenged by Sam Wright, a Republican and Sylvia Zapata, the Socialist Workers candidate. Jordan was re-elected with 85 percent of the district vote.

Jordan's LCCR rating is 10. Blacks in her district gave her about 99 percent of their votes, although turnout was a disappointing 49 percent of those registered. The black voting-age population in the district comprises 40 percent of the total.

☐ DISTRICT 24. District 24, which includes part of Dallas and part of Fort Worth, re-elected conservative Democratic Rep. Dale Milford, to the House with 62 percent of the district vote. Blacks constitute 22 percent of the voting-age population of the district.

Milford was opposed by Republican Leo Berman and a third-party candidate. Black voter turnout of those registered was 42 percent for the congressional election, in which over 96 percent of blacks voted for Milford. Milford has an LCCR rating of 3.

Virginia

Presidential Race

President Ford won Virginia's 12 electoral votes by a margin of 23,906 votes. Blacks account for more than 16 percent of the voting-age population. Ford polled a little over 6 percent of the black vote, and Carter more than 90 percent. Turnout of registered black voters was a high 76 percent.

Senatorial Race

Serving as a senator since 1965, Independent Harry Bird, Jr. entered the 1976 campaign without Republican opposition. However, he was challenged by Elmo R. Zumwalt, a Democrat and Independent Martin Perper. Byrd was re-elected with 57 percent of the statewide vote.

Black voters threw 92 percent of their votes to Zumwalt. About 66 percent of the state's registered black voters participated in the Senate race. Byrd has an LCCR rating of 1.

Congressional Races

The Joint Center monitored black voter participation in five House races in Virginia. Overall black voter participation was 59 percent of those registered.

☐ DISTRICT 1. This district includes the city of Newport News. Democrat Thomas Downing represented the district from 1958 until his retirement in 1976. Downing had an LCCR rating of 1 in the 94th Congress. About 27 percent of the voting-age population is black.

The challengers for the House seat in 1976 were Democrat Robert Quinn, Republican Paul Trible, and Independent Mary McClaine. Trible won the election with 51 percent of the district vote.

Black voters gave Trible 25 percent of their votes for an estimated

8,450 votes, more than Trible's narrow 2,355 winning margin.

In the presidential race, about 79 percent of all eligible blacks participated, and 95 percent of their votes went to Carter.

☐ DISTRICT 2. This district takes in Norfolk, and has a voting-age population that is 19 percent black.

In the 1976 election, blacks in the district gave more than 89 percent of their votes to Carter. Turnout among eligible blacks for the presidential election was 73 percent.

Republican Rep. G. William Whitehurst, initially elected in 1968, got 13 percent of the black vote in his 1974 race. He was challenged by Democrat Robert R. Richards, who lost the election, but rolled up 87 percent of the black vote in that year.

In 1976, Whitehurst, whose LCCR rating is 0, defeated Robert Washington, a Democrat. Whitehurst got less black support this year than in 1974, about 10 percent, but he won the district with 65 percent of the vote. Black voter turnout of those registered was 67 percent.

☐ DISTRICT 3. This district includes the city of Richmond and is one-fourth black in voting-age population. In the 1972 presidential election, Richmond's black voters gave McGovern 91 percent of their votes. In the 1976 election, Carter polled 90 percent of black votes. Black voter turnout of those registered was a high 75 percent.

Incumbent Democratic Rep. David Satterfield has occupied the House seat since 1964. In the 1974 House race, Satterfield polled 66 percent of black votes, while Alan Ogden, an Independent, got 34 percent. Satterfield was opposed again by Independent candidate Ogden in 1976. Satterfield won re-election with 88 percent of the district vote.

Satterfield, whose LCCR rating is 0, got 87 percent of the black vote, while Ogden polled more than 13 percent. Voter turnout of eligible blacks was a low 49 percent.

☐ DISTRICT 4. This district, which includes the city of Portsmouth, has a black voting-age population which is 34 percent of the total.

Black voters gave Carter 94 percent of their votes, and a high 83 percent of those eligible participated in the presidential election.

In the House race, incumbent Robert W. Daniel, a Republican, was challenged by J. W. O'Brien, a Democrat. Daniel won the district with 53 percent of the vote.

Despite the backing of Curtis Harris, a black who ran as an independent in the 1974 race, Daniel managed to poll only 16 percent of the black vote. However, Daniel got almost as many black votes, 8,040, as his narrow winning margin 8,322. Harris in his 1974 race, polled 17 percent of the district vote and 42 percent of the black vote.

Daniel has an LCCR rating of 1. Black voter turnout for the congressional race was a high 90 percent of those registered.

☐ DISTRICT 5. This district, which includes Danville, is one-fourth black in voting-age population. The Democratic incumbent, Rep. W. C. Daniel, was re-elected to the House without opposition. Black voter turnout to re-elect Daniel, who has a LCCR rating of 0, was a low 25 percent of those registered. Daniel was initially elected to the House in 1968.

By contrast, the presidential election attracted 69 percent of black registered voters. More than 80 percent of them chose Carter.

Wisconsin

Presidential Race

Wisconsin's 11 electoral votes went to Carter, who won them with a 34,017 vote margin. Ninety-three percent of the black voters supported Carter and provided 40,854 votes for him. Black voter turnout of those registered was 85 percent.

Wisconsin has a relatively small black population, and only about 3 percent of its voting-age population is black.

Senatorial Race

Sen. William Proxmire, a Democrat, was up for re-election. He was challenged by Republican Stanley York, and four minor-party candidates. Proxmire was re-elected with about 73 percent of the statewide vote.

More than 95 percent of black voters chose Proxmire, whose LCCR rating is 5. Black voter turnout for the Senate election was more than 74 percent of those registered.

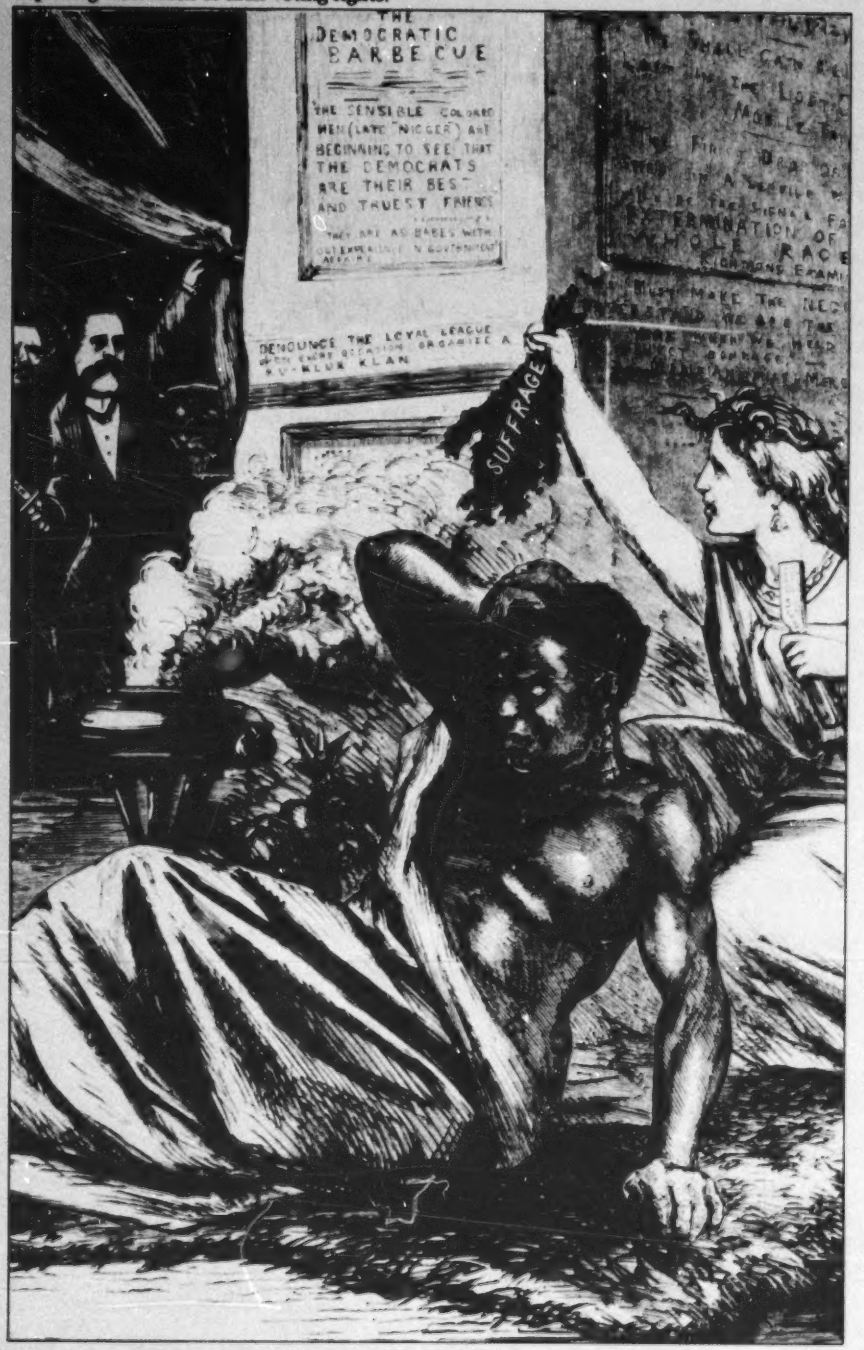
Congressional Race

Black voter turnout in the only congressional race monitored by the Joint Center was a little over 70 percent.

☐ DISTRICT 5. This district takes in the black neighborhoods of

Thomas Nast cartoon from *Harper's Weekly*, Oct. 3, 1868.

The Democratic Party as a modern Delilah depriving black men of their voting rights.


THE
DEMOCRATIC
BARBECUE
THE SENSIBLE COLORED MEN (LATE "NIGGER") ARE BEGINNING TO SEE THAT THE DEMOCRATS ARE THEIR BEST AND TRUEST FRIENDS
DENOUNCE THE LOYAL LEAGUE
SUFFRAGE

Milwaukee. It has a black voting-age population which comprises 16 percent of the total. Democrat Henry Reuss has represented the district since 1954.

In 1976 Republican Robert Hicks and two minor-party candidates challenged Reuss. Reuss, who has an LCCR rating of 9, was re-elected with 78 percent of the district vote.

Black voters also supported Reuss with 96 percent of their votes. Turnout of eligible black voters was over 70 percent.

Selma Voting Rights March, Selma, Alabama, 1965

Methodology

The Joint Center monitored black voter participation in 23 of the 50 states during the 1976 elections. Election results for the sample precincts, wards and districts used in the study were gathered directly from Boards of Election.

Earlier research identified the most heavily black congressional districts, counties and municipalities. Additional Joint Center surveys of black voter behavior contributed to the basis of this research project.[1] Once the congressional districts to be included were identified, census tract data were used to isolate tracts within the target districts which were at least 80 percent, but usually 90 percent black. The next step involved finding election units within predominantly black census tracts. Sample units were chosen by comparing maps of local jurisdictions to census tract maps.

This method limits black sample areas to those in Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSAs) because the *Metropolitan Map Series*[2] does not include areas outside of SMSAs. Some rural blacks who lived in predominantly black counties outside of SMSAs, but in states where registration data is kept by race, were included in the sample. In these cases, the political units used were those where black registration was at least 80 percent of total registration.

Educators and other knowledgeable people in about 103 congressional districts were asked to serve as reporters on election night. As soon as results from small election units were available, our contacts were asked to make a report to the Joint Center. In approximately 15 cases, reporters encountered difficulties. For example, some were not permitted access to data, some found that precincts or wards were not wholly contained within single congressional districts, some found tabulation processes that were too complex to allow preliminary reports, and some were not able to locate the source of results for small units.

Reporters were also asked to use local newspapers as a check on data submitted and as a source of background information for the analyses of congressional and gubernatorial races. The report on black preference in the presidential election is based on a sample of 1,059 precincts, wards, and other types of election units. However, because the total number of sample areas includes units of different size, the figure is meaningful only as a gross measure of the comprehensiveness of the sample. For example, one ward may contain many precincts or may have fewer people than are contained in a precinct in another state. Even within the same state, there is population variance within the same type of election unit.

Although black voter behavior was examined in the same political units for both congressional and presidential contests, the total number of units for each election is slightly different. This is primarily due to the need to separate large units such as wards and aldermanic districts into their components—precincts. This was done when congressional district boundaries divided wards.

The research involved an examination of the voting behavior of 2,110,765 registered black voters, or approximately 23 percent of the estimated total of 9,024,800 registered black voters in the United States. For the four states which keep registration data by race,[3] actual registration figures, not estimates, were used. For the remainder of the states in the sample, we used the estimate of the U. S. Bureau of Census that 60.9 percent of blacks of voting age outside of the South are registered, as are 56.4 percent of Southern blacks.[4]

Turnout of registered voters is the actual turnout reported by boards of election for sample areas. Similarly, all estimates of the total black vote and of black support for candidates are based on actual votes and candidate support in sample areas.

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[1] The Joint Center for Political Studies, *Guide to Black Politics 1976*, "Black Voting Age Population in Cities," "Congressional Districts with Twenty Percent or More Black Population," and "The Black Vote in Selected Congressional and Gubernatorial Races, 1974."

[2] U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population and Housing: 1970, *Census Tracts*; Final Report PHC (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1972).

[3] Registration by race is kept by Florida, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, and scattered counties and municipalities in other states.

[4] U. S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 304, *Voter Participation in November 1976*, (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1976).

Finally, several things should be borne in mind as this final report is reviewed. They are:

1. It is possible that black voters who live outside of solidly black neighborhoods vote differently than those in the sample. However, the Joint Center feels that the black vote in the sample areas fairly reflects the pattern of black voting throughout the political unit.

2. The accuracy of these estimates depends, in part, on the total number of votes in the sample area. For example, in the House race in Louisiana's Seventh District, only 412 votes were cast in the sample area, whereas in Missouri's First District, 52,682 votes were cast in sample areas.

3. The black vote for senatorial and gubernatorial races is shown in two ways. A statewide summary of the black vote is given as well as a summary of results within each congressional district. The reason for this is that results may be proportionately different from sample area to sample area within the same state. For example, community A, with a sample of 4,000 voters, may have given 70 percent of their votes to the winning candidate. Community B, with a sample of 100 voters, may have given 90 percent of their votes to the winning candidate.

4. This report is based on target areas located primarily in inner-city, low-income areas. The Bureau of the Census has identified low income as one of the factors associated with low voting and registration rates. Since most of the data used by the Joint Center is compiled from low income areas, this report may understate black voter participation.

Selected References

The references below are suggested as additional sources of information about the 1976 elections, the candidates and voter behavior.

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3. U. S. Bureau of the Census. Current Population Reports, Special Studies, Series P-23 No. 54. *The Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the United States.* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1974.)

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5. Joint Center for Political Studies. *Guide to Black Politics, 1976.* (Washington, D. C.: Joint Center for Political Studies, 1976.)

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7. Barone, Michael; Matthews, Douglas; and Ujifusa, Grant. *The Almanac of American Politics.* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1976.)

8. The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. *A Civil Rights Voting Record for the 94th Congress.* (Washington, D. C.: The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, 1976.)

Selected Publications

NATIONAL ROSTER OF BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS, $15.00
By JCPS Office of Research, annual

ENERGY POLICY AND THE POOR: A ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION, $2.00
Edited by JCPS Office of Research

PARTICIPATION IN THE DELEGATE SELECTION PROCESS FOR THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PARTY CONVENTIONS IN 1976, $4.00
By Kenneth S. Colburn and George A. Daley, 1975

GUIDE TO BLACK POLITICS '76, $10.00 ea.
Volume I:—The Democratic National Convention
Volume II—The Republican National Convention
By JCPS Office of Research, 1976

THE BLACK VOTE: ELECTION '76, $5.00
By Jeanne Fox, 1977

FOCUS, $12.00 annually
JCPS monthly newsletter

BLACK CRIME: A POLICE VIEW, $5.00
Edited by Herrington J. Bryce, 1976

NEW FEDERALISM AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: A PRELIMINARY EVALUATION OF THE HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1974, $3.50
By Miton D. Morris, 1976

PROFILES OF BLACK MAYORS IN THE UNITED STATES, $10.00
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MUNICIPAL BUDGETING: A PRIMER FOR ELECTED OFFICIALS, Second Edition, $3.00
By Jesse Burkhead and Paul Bringewatt, 1977

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By Milton D. Morris, 1977

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By David H. Hunter, 1975

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By John Dean, 1973

REGIONALISM AND MINORITY PARTICIPATION, $1.00
By Jeanne Fox, 1974

THE MINORITY COMMUNITY AND REVENUE SHARING, $1.00
By Kenneth S. Colburn, 1973

TABLE VII: BLACK VOTER PARTICIPATION

1976 Presidential Election
Election Results in Sample Black Areas

State and City	Number and Percent of Votes			Total Number of Votes Cast	Total Number of Registered Voters	Turnout[1]	Number of Sample Wards or Precincts
	Carter	Ford	Third Party				
ALABAMA							
Bessemer	5,764 (87.5)	669 (10.2)	155 (2.4)	6,588	8,852	74.4	4
Birmingham	21,565 (84.9)	3,314 (13.1)	519 (2.0)	25,398	34,123	74.4	5
Macon Co.	4,842 (85.6)	709 (12.5)	107 (1.9)	5,658	10,463	54.1	5
Mobile	6,878 (90.8)	454 (6.0)	240 (3.2)	7,572	12,998	58.3	4
Total	39,049 (86.4)	5,146 (11.4)	1,021 (2.3)	45,216	66,436	68.1	18
ARKANSAS							
Pine Bluff	1,626 (85.1)	286 (14.9)		1,914	3,286	58.3	11
West Memphis	2,333 (63.7)	454 (16.3)		2,787	4,450	62.6	7
Total	3,961 (84.3)	740 (15.7)		4,701	7,736	60.8	18
CALIFORNIA							
Compton	5,129 (94.3)	249 (4.6)	63 (1.2)	5,441	7,299	74.5	19
Oakland	4,178 (92.8)	246 (5.5)	78 (1.7)	4,502	7,708	58.4	19
Richmond	3,310 (91.0)	277 (7.6)	50 (1.4)	3,637	5,098	71.3	16
San Francisco	783 (82.0)	68 (7.0)	102 (10.7)	953	1,506	63.0	6
Total	13,400 (92.2)	840 (7.0)	293 (2.0)	14,533	21,611	67.2	60
FLORIDA							
Jacksonville	26,103 (95.6)	986 (3.7)	196 (0.7)	27,295	42,803	64.1	31
Miami	30,269 (94.2)	1,556 (4.8)	320 (1.0)	32,145	46,280	69.5	27
Tallahasee	2,719 (96.8)	79 (2.8)	10 (0.4)	2,808	3,532	79.5	2
Tampa	2,626 (95.4)	118 (4.3)	10 (0.4)	2,754	4,202	65.5	2
Total	61,717 (94.9)	2,749 (4.2)	536 (0.8)	65,002	96,817	67.3	62
GEORGIA							
Albany	2,855 (95.7)	129 (4.3)		2,984	4,719	63.2	3
Atlanta	34,607 (97.6)	841 (2.4)		35,448	59,872	59.2	55
Augusta	4,142 (97.4)	109 (2.6)		4,251	6,867	61.9	8
Columbus	2,029 (93.2)	149 (6.8)		2,178	3,491	62.4	3
Macon	3,638 (95.0)	191 (5.0)		3,829	6,663	57.5	6
Savannah	9,241 (92.7)	729 (7.3)		9,970	15,620	63.8	19
Total	56,512 (96.3)	2,148 (3.7)		58,660	97,232	60.3	94
ILLINOIS							
Chicago	140,612 (92.3)	11,225 (7.4)	437 (0.3)	152,274	230,531	66.1	9
East St. Louis	6,165 (90.5)	612 (9.0)	39 (0.6)	6,816	11,260	60.5	17
Total	146,777 (92.3)	11,837 (7.4)	476 (0.3)	159,090	241,791	65.8	26
INDIANA							
Gary	25,269 (94.5)	*1,200 (4.5)	*267 (1.0)	26,736	40,507	66.0	3
Indianapolis	10,115 (90.8)	919 (8.3)	104 (1.0)	11,138	16,683	66.8	23
Total	35,384 (93.4)	*2,119 (5.6)	*371 (1.0)	37,874	57,190	66.2	26
KENTUCKY							
Louisville	8,027 (80.0)	1,618 (16.1)	387 (3.9)	10,030	18,389	54.5	41
LOUISIANA							
Alexandria	3,476 (92.0)	270 (7.2)	32 (0.9)	3,778	5,719	66.1	8
Baton Rogue	10,938 (94.4)	295 (2.6)	353 (3.1)	11,586	18,661	62.1	20
Evangeline Parish	1,274 (92.9)	93 (6.8)	4 (0.3)	1,371	2,103	65.2	3
Lafayette	493 (88.5)	51 (9.2)	13 (2.3)	557	1,035	53.8	1
Monroe	3,233 (92.4)	209 (6.0)	57 (1.6)	3,499	4,987	70.2	5
New Orleans	17,653 (92.7)	806 (4.2)	583 (3.1)	19,042	25,922	73.5	44
Shreveport	9,523 (94.7)	306 (3.0)	114 (1.1)	9,943	15,673	64.2	14
Total	46,590 (93.6)	2,030 (4.1)	1,156 (2.3)	49,776	74,100	67.2	95
MARYLAND							
Baltimore	55,300 (91.5)	5,115 (8.5)		60,415	108,931	55.5	68
MICHIGAN							
Detroit	151,289 (87.7)	14,158 (8.2)	7,141 (4.1)	172,588	314,437	54.9	11
Flint	3,967 (93.7)	244 (5.8)	21 (0.5)	4,232	7,709	54.9	12
Grand Rapids	2,106 (84.1)	363 (14.5)	35 (1.4)	2,504	4,662	53.7	7
Lansing	326 (86.2)	46 (12.2)	6 (1.6)	378	883	42.8	1
Saginaw	2,384 (94.0)	138 (5.4)	13 (0.6)	2,535	4,492	56.4	6
Total	160,072 (87.8)	14,949 (8.2)	7,216 (4.0)	182,237	332,183	54.9	35
MISSISSIPPI							
Clarksdale	3,380 (80.2)	841 (15.2)	193 (4.6)	4,214	8,702	48.4	7
Jackson	6,369 (91.7)	451 (6.5)	122 (1.8)	6,942	12,400	56.0	11
Total	9,749 (87.4)	1,092 (9.8)	315 (2.8)	11,156	21,102	52.9	18
MISSOURI							
Kansas City	8,760 (92.3)	677 (7.1)	52 (0.4)	9,489	13,320	71.2	23
St. Louis	46,850 (91.2)	4,327 (8.4)	182 (0.4)	51,359	70,475	72.9	10
Total	55,610 (91.4)	5,004 (8.2)	234 (0.4)	60,848	83,795	72.6	33
NEW JERSEY							
Jersey City	1,744 (90.8)	158 (8.2)	19 (1.0)	1,921	2,713	70.8	4
Newark	16,384 (87.0)	2,259 (12.0)	*188 (1.0)	18,831	30,038	62.6	42
Total	18,128 (87.4)	2,417 (11.7)	*207 (1.0)	20,752	32,401	63.3	46
NEW YORK							
Buffalo	7,981 (89.2)	938 (10.5)	27 (0.3)	8,946	11,791	75.9	33
New York City	53,072 (89.5)	5,620 (9.5)	593 (1.0)	59,285	87,148	68.0	2
Total	61,053 (89.5)	6,558 (9.6)	*620 (0.9)	68,231	98,939	69.0	35
NORTH CAROLINA							
Charlotte	7,938 (96.4)	279 (3.4)	15 (0.2)	8,232	15,269	53.9	9
Fayetteville	1,275 (95.9)	51 (3.8)	4 (0.3)	1,330	2,127	62.5	2
Goldsboro	2,295 (72.2)	877 (27.6)	9 (0.3)	3,181	5,704	55.8	2
Greensboro	5,168 (95.4)	234 (4.3)	17 (0.3)	5,419	10,058	53.9	6
Greenville	439 (87.8)	61 (12.2)	0 (0.0)	500	949	52.7	1
Raleigh	3,041 (96.5)	106 (3.4)	4 (0.1)	3,151	5,489	57.4	4
Rocky Mount	1,399 (98.0)	26 (1.8)	2 (0.1)	1,427	2,235	63.9	1
Total	21,555 (92.8)	1,634 (7.0)	51 (0.2)	23,240	41,831	55.6	25
OHIO							
Cincinnati	9,471 (82.5)	1,042 (9.1)	969 (8.4)	11,482	14,876	77.2	34
Cleveland	54,584 (77.8)	4,859 (6.9)	10,857 (15.4)	70,300	93,797	75.0	11
Columbus	4,195 (85.5)	546 (11.1)	163 (3.3)	4,904	6,806	72.1	22
Dayton	10,327 (89.4)	830 (7.2)	393 (3.4)	11,550	15,135	76.3	41
Total	78,577 (80.0)	2,277 (7.4)	12,382 (12.6)	98,236	130,614	75.2	108
PENNSYLVANIA							
Philadelphia	141,990 (87.0)	18,820 (11.5)	2,402 (1.5)	163,212	232,177	70.3	21
Pittsburgh	17,688 (89.3)	1,819 (9.2)	312 (1.6)	19,819	28,034	70.7	4
Total	159,678 (87.2)	20,639 (11.3)	2,714 (1.5)	183,031	260,211	70.3	25
SOUTH CAROLINA							
Anderson	1,499 (87.9)	199 (11.7)	7 (0.4)	1,705	2,264	75.3	4
Charleston	5,355 (84.3)	944 (14.9)	51 (0.8)	6,350	10,848	58.5	10
Columbia	5,832 (95.4)	170 (2.8)	110 (1.8)	6,112	9,254	66.0	3
Fairfield Co.	409 (90.9)	40 (8.9)	1 (0.2)	450	625	72.0	2
Florence Co.	2,447 (96.3)	93 (3.6)	2 (0.1)	2,542	3,802	66.9	3
Georgetown Co.	1,945 (84.9)	328 (14.3)	*18 (0.8)	2,291	3,161	72.5	8
Sumter Co.	1,912 (93.0)	140 (6.8)	4 (0.2)	2,056	2,899	70.9	4
Total	18,550 (90.4)	1,791 (8.7)	*187 (0.9)	20,528	31,674	64.8	34
TENNESSEE							
Chattanooga	2,850 (94.9)	147 (4.9)	5 (0.2)	3,002	6,201	48.4	4
Memphis	40,360 (91.9)	3,112 (7.1)	*437 (1.0)	43,909	65,011	67.5	43
Nashville	7,508 (93.0)	523 (6.5)	46 (0.5)	8,075	12,699	63.6	12
Total	50,718 (92.2)	3,782 (6.9)	*488 (0.9)	54,986	83,911	65.5	59
TEXAS							
Beaumount	3,859 (97.5)	88 (2.2)	11 (0.3)	3,958	6,922	57.2	4
Dallas	25,002 (96.2)	967 (3.7)	44 (0.2)	26,003	58,109	44.8	29
Ft. Worth	6,871 (97.1)	187 (2.6)	15 (0.2)	7,073	11,945	59.2	10
Houston	18,190 (97.5)	466 (2.5)	44 (0.2)	18,700	38,798	48.2	17
Orange Co.	409 (97.6)	10 (2.4)	0 (0.0)	419	792	52.9	1
Total	54,331 (96.8)	1,708 (3.0)	114 (0.2)	56,153	116,566	48.2	61
VIRGINIA							
Danville	1,578 (80.4)	385 (12.8)	*19 (1.0)	1,982	2,854	88.7	3
Newport News	5,571 (94.7)	239 (4.1)	72 (1.2)	5,882	7,466	78.8	8
Norfolk	7,901 (89.4)	368 (4.2)	567 (6.4)	8,836	12,052	73.3	7
Portsmouth	5,082 (94.1)	213 (3.9)	108 (2.0)	5,403	6,525	82.8	4
Richmond	21,855 (89.7)	1,761 (7.2)	753 (3.1)	24,369	32,498	75.0	24
Total	41,987 (90.4)	2,946 (6.3)	*1,519 (3.3)	46,452	61,397	75.7	48
WISCONSIN							
Milwaukee	20,301 (90.4)	1,671 (4.9)	354 (1.6)	21,726	25,708	84.5	26

*Percentage of Black Registrants Who Voted
[1]Estimated

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TABLE VIII: BLACK VOTER PARTICIPATION

1970 Congressional Elections
Election Results in Sample Black Areas

State and City	Candidate, Party, Number and Percent of Votes (...Missed)			Total Number of Votes Cast	Total Number of Registered Voters	Turnout*	Number of Sample Black Precincts
ALABAMA	Hawthorne (D)	Tuomey (D)	Third Party				
District 3	900 (9.6)	3,397 (90.5)	134 (3.6)	3,468	5,600	62.4	16
Jefferson County	31 (.8)	474 (99.2)	17 (3.4)	1,000	1,500	66.6	7
Tuscaloosa	205 (5.3)	3,695 (97.2)	338 (3.0)	4,540	7,700	59.2	18
Statewide	937 (4.8)	3,721 (91.7)	149 (3.5)	4,058	7,700	52.7	18
Total	1,041 (5.0)	11,702 (94.0)	488 (3.5)	12,670	20,000	58.4	51
ALASKA	☆Egan (D)	Brady (R)					
Statewide	2,315 (97.0)	103 (7.1)		2,371	3,697	55.6	2
Fairbanks	2,432 (93.2)	165 (6.4)		2,597	3,532	64.9	2
Juneau/Ely	15,455 (86.9)	2,304 (13.1)		17,759	27,485	46.1	20
Nome	17,557 (91.5)	1,455 (7.5)		19,012	44,535	42.8	27
Total	35,943 (89.2)	4,008 (9.8)		40,910	86,609	45.7	62
ARIZONA	☆Rhodes (R)	☆Luger (R)	Third Party				
Maricopa	9,402 (99.2)	900 (9.5)	82 (0.7)	11,038	16,600	66.3	23
Pima	24,169 (94.3)	1,359 (5.6)	88 (0.3)	25,655	40,507	63.3	3
Total	34,101 (95.6)	2,602 (6.5)	160 (0.4)	36,693	57,150	64.2	26
ARKANSAS	Bush (R)	☆Gathings (D)	Bradley (Ind)				
Statewide	3,405 (8.1)	38,201 (90.5)	776 (1.4)	56,566	109,031	51.9	66
MICHIGAN	☆Riegle (D)	Koch (R)	Third Party				
Flint	3,857 (96.9)	124 (3.0)	25 (0.7)	4,016	7,700	52.1	12
Detroit	134,666 (91.7)	10,781 (7.4)	1,325 (0.9)	146,172	314,086	46.5	11
Grand Rapids	2,604 (97.4)	283 (11.2)	39 (1.3)	2,327	4,682	49.9	7
Lansing	338 (88.3)	33 (8.5)	8 (2.3)	346	883	39.5	1
Saginaw	2,333 (93.8)	110 (4.7)	35 (1.5)	2,365	4,482	52.6	4
Total	142,485 (91.8)	11,331 (7.3)	1,423 (0.9)	155,229	331,812	46.8	35
MISSISSIPPI	Stennis (D)	unopposed					
Jackson	5,115 (100.0)			5,110	12,400	41.5	11
Clarksdale	1,491 (100.0)			1,491	8,702	19.8	7
Total	6,576 (100.0)			6,576	21,102	31.0	18
MISSOURI	Hearnes (D)	☆Danforth (R)	Petty (Ind.)				
Kansas City	8,717 (89.3)	2,048 (10.6)	125 (1.1)	10,880	16,341	66.5	28
St. Louis	40,225 (83.5)	7,797 (16.2)	127 (0.3)	48,199	70,475	68.4	19
Total	48,942 (86.9)	9,915 (16.1)	332 (0.5)	59,059	86,816	68.0	38
NEW JERSEY	☆Hatfield (D)	Rencricks (R)	Third Party				
Jersey City	1,639 (90.8)	149 (8.3)	20 (1.1)	1,788	2,713	65.9	1
Newark	14,866 (89.9)	1,646 (10.0)	167 (1.0)	16,679	30,068	56.1	42
Total	16,485 (89.3)	1,965 (10.7)	187 (1.0)	18,667	32,901	56.9	45
NEW YORK	Buckley (R-C)(L)	Moynihan (D-L)	Third Party				
New York City	10,217 (13.0)	41,616 (79.4)	702 (1.0)	52,105	97,146	53.6	2
Buffalo	1,661 (14.3)	9,243 (84.0)	65 (1.0)	7,977	11,791	62.5	10
Total	11,388 (16.9)	47,859 (80.1)	1006 (1.0)	59,532	84,936	65.3	36
OHIO	☆Metzenbaum (D)	Taft (R)	Third Party				
Cleveland	21,602 (80.2)	4,877 (7.8)	8,254 (12.0)	22,130	33,797	65.6	33
Columbus	3,250 (61.9)	486 (12.6)	223 (5.8)	3,848	5,350	62.4	21
Cincinnati	5,349 (82.9)	888 (14.7)	151 (2.4)	6,328	9,602	65.4	20
Dayton	8,151 (85.8)	834 (8.2)	530 (5.0)	10,054	17,135	70.4	41
Total	39,482 (81.4)	6,380 (8.7)	7,332 (9.9)	73,886	116,972	54.5	96
PENNSYLVANIA	Green (D)	☆Hafer (R)	Third Party				
Pittsburgh	13,388 (67.5)	6,113 (28.8)	391 (1.7)	15,899	22,254	70.7	4
Philadelphia	70,021 (84.8)	12,355 (14.8)	598 (0.8)	83,044	134,340	57.3	11
Total	84,319 (81.4)	18,310 (17.7)	966 (0.9)	103,494	166,574	57.9	15
TENNESSEE	Brock (R)	☆Sasser (D)	Third Party				
Nashville	566 (7.4)	7,257 (92.2)	16 (0.4)	7,973	12,660	62.9	12
Chattanooga	209 (7.0)	2,744 (92.3)	21 (0.7)	2,974	6,201	48.0	4
Memphis	2,972 (5.5)	35,082 (88.5)	388 (1.0)	37,460	61,123	61.3	25
Total	2,889 (5.9)	45,139 (93.2)	417 (0.9)	48,439	80,083	60.5	51
TEXAS	☆Bentsen (D)	Sheerman (R)	Third Party				
Dallas	22,701 (95.3)	1,091 (4.5)	51 (0.2)	23,843	58,109	41.0	20
Ft. Worth	5,689 (97.5)	146 (2.1)	27 (0.3)	5,826	11,845	57.2	10
Houston	16,491 (97.8)	366 (1.7)	42 (0.9)	16,862	38,790	43.4	17
Orange	412 (98.1)	8 (1.9)	0 (0.0)	420	790	53.0	1
Beaumont	3,845 (99.3)	30 (1.3)	8 (0.2)	3,912	6,922	56.5	4
Total	50,098 (98.7)	1,582 (3.0)	163 (0.3)	51,823	116,566	44.5	61
VIRGINIA	☆Byrd (Ind.)	Zumwalt (D)	Pleger (Ind.)				
Newport News	234 (4.7)	4,776 (94.1)	64 (1.3)	5,013	7,466	67.1	8
Norfolk	160 (2.1)	7,530 (96.9)	76 (0.9)	7,772	12,092	64.6	7
Richmond	1,525 (7.2)	19,660 (92.0)	972 (2.1)	21,057	32,466	64.8	24
Portsmouth	166 (3.0)	5,441 (96.0)	52 (0.9)	5,660	8,529	67.1	6
Danville	413 (32.3)	867 (62.9)	49 (3.8)	1,279	2,854	44.8	3
Total	2,501 (6.2)	37,466 (91.8)	213 (2.0)	40,840	61,397	66.5	36
WISCONSIN	☆Proxmire (D)	York (R)	Third Party				
Milwaukee	18,213 (98.4)	913 (3.2)	257 (1.4)	19,085	25,729	74.2	25

TABLE IX: BLACK VOTER PARTICIPATION

1970 Congressional Elections
Election Results in Sample Black Areas

State, City, and Congressional District	Candidate, Party, Number and Percent of Votes (...Missed)			Total Number of Votes Cast	Total Number of Registered Voters	Turnout*	Number of Sample Black Precincts
ALABAMA							
Dist. 7-Montgomery	☆Dickinson (R) 394 (19.2)	Kushey (D) 1,388 (80.8)		1,882	3,581	47.3	2
Dist. 3-Macon County	☆Nichols (D) 4,497 (88.0)	Gardner (Prohibition) 95 (1.9)		4,980	10,463	43.9	5
Dist. 6-Birmingham	☆Buchanan (R) 4,719 (19.4)	Bailey (D) 19,282 (79.1)	Third Party 371 (1.5)	24,382	34,133	71.9	16
Dist. 7-Bessemer	☆Flowers (D) 5,588 (100.0)	unopposed		5,588	8,882	63.1	4
Alabama - Turnout in Congressional Races				36,252	57,019	63.6	29
ARKANSAS							
Dist. 1-West Memphis	☆Alexander (D) 1,362 (61.9)	Holloman (R) 849 (38.1)		2,231	4,480	50.1	7
CALIFORNIA							
Dist. 6-San Francisco	☆Burton (D) 886 (94.1)	Spinosa (R) 33 (3.5)	Third Party 26 (2.8)	985	1,929	51.8	8
Dist. 7-Richmond	☆Miller (D) 3,230 (98.0)	Wilkins (R) 76 (2.3)	Stanley (Amer. Ind.) 56 (1.7)	3,364	5,588	66.0	16
Dist. 8-Oakland	☆Dellums (D) 3,891 (96.5)	Black (R) 71 (2.3)	Evans (Peace & Freed.) 37 (1.2)	3,109	5,588	55.8	14
Dist. 31-Compton	☆Wilson (D) 4,080 (100.0)	unopposed		4,080	7,290	56.1	10
California - Turnout in Congressional Races				11,581	19,884	58.1	57
FLORIDA							
Dist. 7-Tampa	☆Gibbons (D) 2,169 (94.2)	Owens (R) 135 (5.8)		2,325	4,097	56.8	2
Dist. 13-Miami	☆Lehman (D) 9,178 (95.6)	Spangenberg (R) 421 (4.4)		9,599	21,524	44.6	13
Dist. 14-Miami	☆Pepper (D) 5,991 (95.6)	Estrella (R) 279 (4.4)		6,270	13,706	45.8	9
Dist. 15-Miami	☆Fascell (D) 4,118 (94.3)	Cobb (R) 249 (5.7)		4,365	9,203	47.4	5
Florida - Turnout in Congressional Races				22,559	48,531	46.4	29
GEORGIA							
Dist. 1-Savannah	☆Ginn (D) 5,491 (99.9)	Taylor (R) 3 (0.1)		5,844	15,820	37.4	16

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TABLE IX: BLACK VOTER PARTICIPATION

1978 Congressional Elections
Election Results in Sample Black Areas

State, City, and Congressional District	Candidate, Party, Number and Percent of Votes (☆ = Winner)			Total Number of Votes Cast	Total Number of Registered Voters	Turnout[1]	Number of Sample Wards or Precincts
Dist. 2-Albany	☆Mathis (D) 2,366 (100.0)	unopposed		2,366	4,719	50.6	3
Dist. 3-Columbus	☆Brinkley (D) 1,851 (95.4)	Dugan (R) 89 (4.6)		1,940	3,491	55.6	3
Dist. 5-Atlanta	☆Young (D) 30,621 (95.8)	Gadino (R) 1,358 (4.2)		31,979	59,872	61.0	51
Dist. 8-Macon Co.	☆Evans (D) 2,585 (86.1)	Adams (R) 429 (13.9)		3,015	6,663	45.3	6
Dist. 10-Augusta	☆Bernard (D) 3,844 (100.0)	unopposed		3,844	6,867	56.0	8
Georgia - Turnout in Congressional Races				49,017	97,232	50.4	90
ILLINOIS Dist. 1-Chicago	☆Metcalfe (D) 75,629 (93.2)	Rayner (R) 5,456 (6.7)	Pulley (Soc. Wkrs.) 74 (0.1)	81,159	126,359	64.3	131
Dist. 2-Chicago	☆Murphy (D) 9,645 (92.4)	Lask (R) 726 (7.4)	Symonson (Workers) 23 (0.2)	9,794	16,312	60.0	31
Dist. 5-Chicago	☆Fary (D) 27,283 (93.8)	Krok (R) 1,814 (6.2)		29,107	51,156	56.9	100
Dist. 7-Chicago	☆Collins (D) 25,935 (96.0)	Ward (R) 1,083 (4.0)		27,018	41,027	65.9	2
Dist. 23-E. St. Louis	☆Price (D) 5,598 (93.2)	Denovac (R) 433 (6.8)		6,391	11,280	56.5	19
Illinois-Turnout in Congressional Races				153,449	246,115	62.3	285
INDIANA Dist. 1-Gary	☆Benjamin (D) 24,532 (85.4)	Billings (R) 1,174 (4.6)		25,706	40,507	63.5	3
Dist. 11-Indianapolis	☆Jacobs (D) 9,666 (91.7)	Buell (R) 797 (7.6)	Emerman (Amer.) 79 (0.8)	10,542	16,680	63.2	25
Indiana - Turnout in Congressional Races				36,248	57,190	63.4	28
KENTUCKY Dist. 3-Louisville	☆Mazzoli (D) 7,710 (82.4)	Ramsey (R) 1,373 (14.7)	Chambers (Amer.) 277 (3.0)	9,360	18,399	50.9	41
LOUISIANA Dist. 1-New Orleans	☆Tonry (D) 6,600 (94.7)	Livingston (R) 335 (4.7)	Ranca (Ind) 43 (0.6)	7,068	11,359	48.4	23
Dist. 2-New Orleans	☆Boggs (D) 7,482 (98.4)	Hillery (Ind) 45 (0.6)		7,527	12,506	60.2	23
Dist. 4-Shreveport	☆Waggoner (D) 7,928 (100.0)	unopposed		7,928	15,673	50.6	14
Dist. 5-Monroe	☆Huckaby (D) 3,019 (95.8)	Spooner (R) 134 (4.2)		3,143	4,987	63.2	5
Dist. 6-East Baton Rouge Parish	☆Moore (R) 751 (8.7)	De Blieux (D) 7,862 (91.3)		8,613	18,661	46.2	20
Dist. 7-Lafayette	☆Breaux (D) 395 (95.9)	Huff (R) 17 (4.1)		412	1,035	39.8	1
Dist. 8-Alexandria	☆Long (D) 2,862 (99.6)	Courtney (Ind.) 12 (0.4)		2,874	5,719	50.3	8
Louisiana - Turnout in Congressional Races				37,575	69,940	53.7	94
MARYLAND Dist. 7-Baltimore	☆Mitchell (D) 54,828 (98.4)	Salisbury (Ind.) 864 (1.6)		55,692	107,950	51.6	66
MICHIGAN Dist. 1-Detroit	☆Conyers (D) 18,080 (96.2)	Head (R) 560 (3.1)	Third Party 124 (0.7)	18,767	36,748	51.1	1
Dist. 5-Grand Rapids	☆Sawyer (R) 250 (11.1)	Vander Veen (D) 2,061 (88.3)	Third Party 15 (0.6)	2,336	4,682	50.1	7
Dist. 6-Lansing	☆Carr (D) 327 (87.9)	Taylor (R) 39 (10.5)	Third Party 6 (1.6)	372	883	42.1	1
Dist. 7-Flint	☆Albosta (D) 4,002 (94.2)	Widgery (R) 107 (2.5)	Third Party 48 (1.1)	4,157	7,711	53.9	12
Dist. 8-Saginaw	☆Traxler (D) 2,340 (95.0)	Denton (R) 114 (4.7)	Third Party 10 (0.4)	2,464	4,492	54.8	4
Dist. 13-Detroit	☆Diggs (D) 31,814 (91.6)	☆Gordon (R) 2,715 (7.7)	Third Party 420 (1.2)	34,949	75,153	46.5	3
Michigan-Turnout in Congressional Races				63,044	129,647	48.6	28
MISSISSIPPI Dist. 1-Clarksdale	☆Whitten (D) 1,290 (100.0)	unopposed		1,290	8,702	14.8	7
Dist. 4-Jackson	☆Cochran (R) 1,055 (18.7)	Davis (D) 4,488 (79.5)	Third Party 102 (1.8)	5,645	12,400	37.5	11
Mississippi-Turnout in Congressional Races				6,935	21,102	32.9	18
MISSOURI Dist. 1-St. Louis	☆Clay (D) 48,909 (92.8)	Witherspoon (R) 3,780 (7.2)		52,689	70,475	74.8	10
Dist. 5-Kansas City	☆Bolling (D) 9,261 (81.6)	Collins (R) 1,963 (17.3)	Moore (Ind) 121 (1.1)	11,345	16,341	69.4	20
Missouri-Turnout in Congressional Races				64,034	86,816	73.8	30
NEW JERSEY Dist. 10-Newark	☆Rodino (D) 14,588 (87.8)	Grandson (R) 1,982 (11.2)	Third Party *164 (1.0)	16,583	30,088	55.2	42
Dist. 14-Jersey City	☆La Fante (D) 1,404 (83.4)	Camponi (R) 190 (11.3)	Third Party 74 (5.3)	1,683	2,713	62.0	4
New Jersey-Turnout in Congressional Races				18,276	32,801	55.7	46
NEW YORK Dist. 37-Buffalo	☆Nowak (D-L) 5,485 (83.5)	Kimbrough (R) 1,015 (15.4)	Grimm (Cons.) 72 (1.1)	6,582	9,602	68.5	33
NORTH CAROLINA Dist. 1-Greenville	☆James (D) 468 (92.9)	Ward (R) 30 (5.9)	Parker (Amer.) 6 (1.2)	505	949	53.2	1
Dist. 2-Rocky Mount	☆Fountain (D) 1,351 (100.0)	unopposed		1,351	2,235	60.9	1
Dist. 3-Goldsboro	☆Whitley (D) 2,511 (83.5)	Blanchard (R) 496 (16.5)		3,007	5,704	52.7	2
Dist. 4-Raleigh	☆Andrews (D) 2,713 (97.7)	Gallamore (R) 64 (2.3)		2,777	5,489	50.6	4
Dist. 6-Greensboro	☆Preyer 4,890 (99.6)	Porter (U.S. Labor) 15 (0.3)	Wade (Libert.) 3 (0.1)	4,908	10,056	48.8	6
Dist. 7-Fayetteville	☆Rose (D) 1,299 (99.0)	Vaughn (R) 13 (1.0)		1,312	2,127	61.7	2
Dist. 9-Charlotte	☆Martin (R) 410 (5.4)	Goodman (D) 7,191 (94.3)	Schlanger (U.S. Labor) 26 (0.3)	7,627	15,269	50.0	9
North Carolina-Turnout in Congressional Races				21,941	41,387	53.0	25
OHIO Dist. 1-Cincinnati	☆Gradison (R) 656 (9.0)	Bowen (D) 6,541 (90.2)	Marrinson (Ind.) 54 (0.7)	7,251	10,779	67.3	23
Dist. 2-Cincinnati	Clancy (R) 308 (8.4)	☆Luken (D) 2,259 (91.6)		2,465	4,088	60.2	11
Dist. 3-Dayton	☆Whalen (R) 3,909 (48.7)	Stubbs (D) 3,486 (43.2)	Third Party 646 (8.1)	8,021	15,135	53.0	41
Dist. 12-Columbus	☆Devine (R) 25 (6.8)	Ryan (D) 237 (64.9)	Moss (Ind.) 103 (28.2)	365	493	74.0	1
Dist. 15-Columbus	☆Wylie (R) 801 (25.4)	McGee (D) 2,349 (74.6)		3,150	6,313	49.9	21
Dist. 21-Cleveland	☆Stokes (D) 55,588 (90.9)	Sparks (R) 4,145 (6.8)	Curry (Ind.) 1,449 (2.4)	61,182	93,797	65.2	11
Ohio - Turnout in Congressional Races				82,434	130,614	63.1	108
PENNSYLVANIA Dist. 1-Philadelphia	☆Myers (D) 32,621 (98.0)	Panetti (R) 4,639 (12.2)	Third Party 657 (1.7)	37,917	59,595	63.6	4
Dist. 2-Philadelphia	☆Nix (D) 61,816 (81.4)	Woods (R) 13,402 (17.7)	Third Party 673 (0.9)	75,891	113,381	66.8	10
Dist. 3-Philadelphia	☆Lederer (D) 24,018 (89.9)	Schada (R) 2,822 (10.4)	Douglas (Labor) 185 (0.7)	27,025	45,566	59.3	6
Dist. 14-Pittsburgh	☆Moorhead (D) 17,263 (90.7)	Bradley (R) 1,636 (8.6)	Third Party 141 (0.7)	19,040	28,034	67.9	4
Pennsylvania-Turnout in Congressional Races				150,673	246,576	64.8	24
SOUTH CAROLINA Dist. 1-Charleston	☆Davis (D) 5,194 (89.5)	Powell (R) 362 (6.2)		5,806	11,223	51.9	9
Dist. 2-Columbia	☆Spence (R) 299 (5.7)	Livingston (D) 5,404 (94.2)	O'Neal (Ind. Party) 7 (0.1)	5,740	9,254	62.0	4

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TABLE IX: BLACK VOTER PARTICIPATION

1976 Congressional Elections
Election Results in Sample Black Areas

State, City, and Congressional District	Candidate, Party, Number and Percent of Votes (☆ - Winner)			Total Number of Votes Cast	Total Number of Registered Voters	Turnout[1]	Number of Sample Wards or Precincts
Dist. 9-Sumter Co.	☆Holland (D) 1,819 (91.9)	Richardson (R) 161 (8.1)	Hough (Ind. Party) 2 (0.1)	1,982	2,899	68.4	4
Dist. 3-Fairfield Co.	595 (83.5)	118 (16.3)	2 (0.3)	713	1,031	69.2	3
Dist. 5-Total	2,414 (89.3)	277 (10.3)	4 (0.2)	2,695	3,930	68.6	7
Dist. 6-Georgetown	☆Jenrette (D) 2,086 (97.2)	Young (R) 57 (2.7)	Dillingham (Ind. Party) *4 (0.2)	2,147	3,161	67.9	8
Dist. 6-Florence	2,428 (96.4)	86 (3.4)	5 (0.2)	2,519	3,802	66.3	3
Dist. 6-Total	4,514 (96.7)	143 (3.1)	9 (0.2)	4,666	6,936	67.3	11
South Carolina-Turnout in Congressional Races				26,288	42,236	62.2	49
TENNESSEE Dist. 3-Chattanooga	☆Lloyd (D) 2,926 (96.2)	Bailey (R) 101 (3.3)	Third Party 16 (0.5)	3,043	6,201	49.1	4
Dist. 5-Nashville	☆Allen (D) 6,853 (99.3)	Bissell (Ind.) 49 (0.7)		6,902	12,699	54.4	12
Dist. 8-Memphis	☆Ford (D) 38,743 (95.6)	Alexandratos (R) 1,684 (4.2)	Flanagan (Ind) 82 (0.2)	40,509	61,123	66.3	35
Tennessee-Turnout in Congressional Races				50,454	80,023	63.0	51
TEXAS Dist. 2-Orange	☆Wilson (D) 416 (100.0)	Doyle (Amer.) 0	(0.0)	416	792	52.5	1
Dist. 5-Dallas	☆Mattox (D) 9,585 (96.5)	Judy (R) 340 (3.4)	McDonnell (Amer.) 7 (0.1)	9,932	23,886	41.6	12
Dist. 9-Beaumont	☆Brooks (D) 3,865 (100.0)	unopposed		3,865	6,922	55.8	4
Dist. 12-Ft. Worth	☆Wright (D) 4,928 (97.8)	Durham (R) 101 (2.0)	Kulchinski (Amer.) 5 (0.1)	5,034	11,945	42.1	10
Dist. 18-Houston	☆Jordan (D) 18,509 (99.0)	Wright (R) 173 (0.9)	Zapata (Soc. Wkrs.) 19 (0.1)	18,800	38,798	48.5	17
Dist. 24-Dallas	☆Milford (D) 13,773 (96.1)	Berman (R) 528 (3.7)	Armstrong (Amer.) 26 (0.2)	14,327	34,225	41.9	17
Texas - Turnout in Congressional Races				52,374	116,568	44.9	61
VIRGINIA Dist. 1-Newport News	Quinn (D) 3,874 (71.2)	☆Trible (R) 1,358 (25.0)	McClaine (Ind.) 208 (3.8)	5,440	7,486	72.9	9
Dist. 2-Norfolk	☆Whitehurst (R) 801 (10.0)	Washington (D) 7,220 (90.0)		8,021	12,052	66.6	7
Dist. 3-Richmond	☆Satterfield (D) 13,816 (86.5)	Ogden (Ind) 2,158 (13.5)		15,976	32,496	49.2	24
Dist. 4-Portsmouth	☆R. Daniel (R) 930 (15.9)	O'Brien (D) 4,931 (84.1)		5,861	6,529	89.8	4
Dist. 5-Danville	☆W. C. Daniel (D) 706 (100.0)	unopposed		706	2,854	24.7	3
Virginia-Turnout in Congressional Races				36,004	61,397	58.6	46
WISCONSIN Dist. 5-Milwaukee	☆Reuss (D) 17,232 (95.7)	Hicks (R) 673 (3.4)	Third Party 157 (0.9)	18,002	25,778	69.8	26
OVERALL TURNOUT FOR CONGRESSIONAL RACES				1,019,985	1,751,3	58.2	

Abbreviations used for political parties:

D - Democrat
R - Republican
Ind. - Independent
Amer. Ind. - American Independent
Ind. Party - Independent Party
Amer. - American
D-L - Democrat-Liberal
Cons. - Conservative
Labor - Labor Party
U. S. Labor - United States Labor Party
Libert. - Libertarian
Peace, Frdm. - Peace and Freedom
Prohi. - Prohibition
Soc. Wkrs. - Socialist Workers

[1]Percentage of Black Registrants Who Voted
*Estimated

TABLE X: BLACK VOTER PARTICIPATION

1976 Gubernatorial Elections
Election Results in Sample Black Areas

State and City	Candidate, Party, Number and Percent of Votes (☆ - Winner)			Total Number of Votes Cast	Total Number of Registered Voters	Turnout[1]	Number of Sample Wards or Precincts
ARKANSAS Pine Bluff	☆Pryor (D) 1,483 (92.1)	Griffith (R) 128 (7.9)		1,611	3,286	49.0	11
West Memphis	1,658 (91.2)	161 (8.8)		1,819	4,450	40.9	7
Total	3,141 (91.6)	289 (8.4)		3,430	7,736	44.3	18
ILLINOIS East St. Louis	Howlett (D) 5,027 (86.0)	Thompson (R) 788 (13.5)	Third Party 30 (0.5)	5,845	11,260	51.9	16
Chicago	112,219 (78.7)	30,409 (21.3)	*142 (0.1)	142,770	230,531	61.9	9
Total	117,246 (18.9)	31,197 (21.0)	172 (0.1)	148,619	241,791	61.5	27
INDIANA Indianapolis	Conad (D) 10,063 (90.9)	☆Bowen (R) 927 (8.4)	Third Party 81 (0.7)	11,071	16,683	66.4	23
Gary	23,970 (93.2)	1,695 (6.6)	61 (0.2)	25,726	40,507	63.5	3
Total	34,033 (92.5)	2,622 (7.1)	142 (0.4)	36,797	57,190	64.3	26
MISSOURI	Teasdale (D) 9,524 (83.6)	Bond (R) 1,725 (15.2)	Strider (Ind.) 121 (1.1)	11,370	18,341	60.6	28
St. Louis	41,905 (86.6)	6,406 (13.2)	94 (0.2)	48,405	70,475	68.7	10
Total	51,429 (86.0)	8,131 (13.6)	215 (0.4)	59,775	86,816	68.9	38
NORTH CAROLINA Goldsboro	☆Hunt (D) 2,547 (79.9)	Flaherty (R) 651 (20.2)	Third Party 29 (0.9)	3,227	5,704	56.6	2
Charlotte	7,380 (96.4)	219 (2.9)	57 (0.7)	7,656	15,269	50.1	9
Fayetteville	1,340 (97.2)	34 (2.5)	4 (0.2)	1,378	2,127	64.8	2
Greensboro	5,085 (97.2)	136 (2.6)	12 (0.2)	5,233	10,058	52.0	6
Raleigh	3,008 (95.9)	102 (3.3)	25 (0.8)	3,135	5,489	57.1	4
Greenville	453 (93.6)	30 (6.2)	1 (0.2)	484	949	51.0	1
Rocky Mount	1,444 (99.3)	9 (0.6)	1 (0.1)	1,454	2,235	65.1	1
Total	21,257 (94.2)	1,181 (5.2)	129 (0.6)	22,567	41,831	54.0	25

[1]Percentage of Black Registrants Who Voted
*Estimated

TABLE XI: BLACK VOTER PARTICIPATION

1976 - Other Statewide Elections
Election Results in Sample Black Areas

State, Election	Candidate, Party, Number and Percent of Votes (☆ - Winner)			Total Number of Votes Cast	Total Number of Registered Voters	Turnout[1]	Number of Sample Wards or Precincts
ILLINOIS ATTORNEY GENERAL Chicago	Partee (D) 128,971 (89.8)	☆Scott (R) 14,650 (10.2)		143,621	230,531	62.3	9
East St. Louis	5,717 (91.8)	509 (8.2)		6,226	11,260	55.3	17
Total	134,688 (89.9)	15,159 (10.1)		149,847	241,791	62.0	26
NORTH CAROLINA SECRETARY OF STATE Charlotte	☆Eure (D) 5,816 (90.7)	Spaulding (R) 549 (8.9)	Long (Amer.) 27 (0.4)	6,192	15,269	40.6	9
Fayetteville	1,000 (73.5)	358 (26.3)	3 (0.2)	1,361	2,127	64.0	2
Goldsboro	2,420 (80.3)	575 (19.2)	15 (0.5)	3,014	5,706	52.8	2
Greensboro	2,026 (48.8)	2,118 (51.0)	9 (0.2)	4,153	10,058	41.3	6
Greenville	372 (86.3)	59 (13.7)	0 (0.0)	431	949	45.4	1
Raleigh	2,476 (87.8)	340 (12.1)	5 (0.2)	2,821	5,489	51.4	4
Rocky Mount	1,214 (91.2)	116 (8.7)	1 (0.1)	1,331	2,235	59.6	1
Total	15,124 (78.4)	4,119 (21.3)	60 (0.3)	19,303	41,833	46.1	25

[1]Percentage of Black Registrants Who Voted
*Estimated

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- To enhance their effectiveness at every level of government; and
- To keep the public apprised of the extent and impact of minority political participation.

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